

WORLD HISTORY MADE SIMPLE

BY

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is primarily concerned with the sources of our own history with the total development which has made us what we are. If I have succeeded then I shall allow myself to hope that the reader will gain from this book a real understanding of our common past, of that long difficult road which brought us from our kind's earliest stirrings to our present turning point.

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I am primarily concerned with the sources of our own history, with the total development which has made us what we are. If I have succeeded, then I shall allow myself to hope that the reader will gain from this book a real understanding of our common past, of that long, difficult road which brought us to our present turning point.

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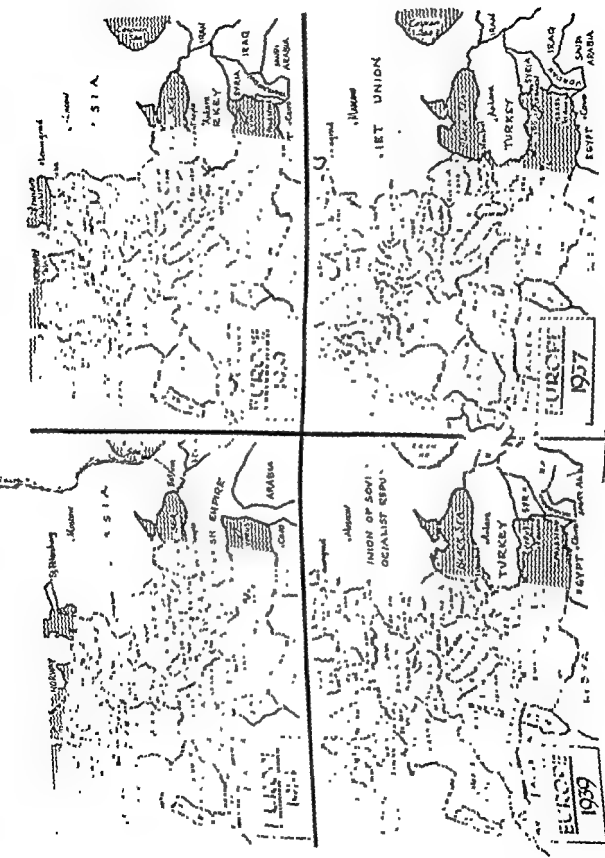
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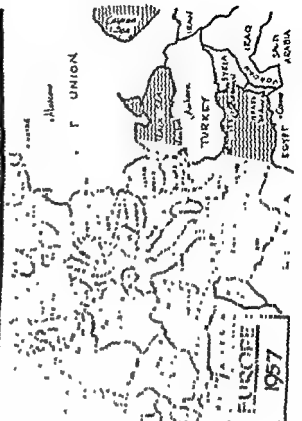
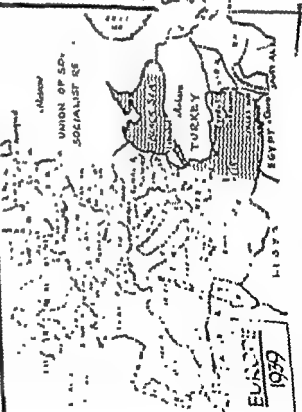


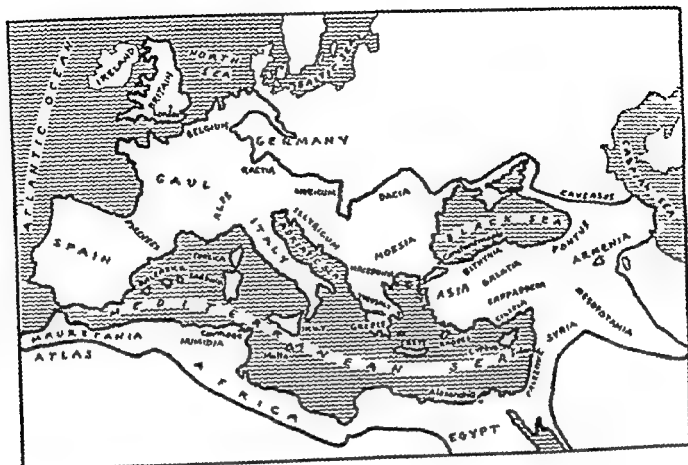


THE ROMAN EMPIRE (41 B.C.-395 A.D.)

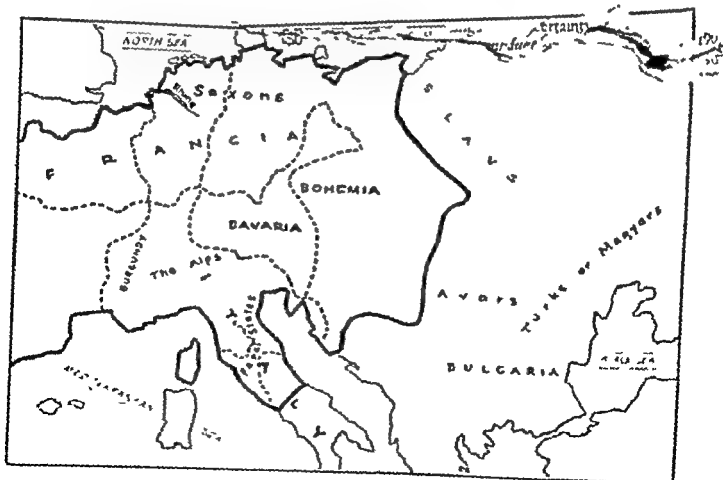


CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE



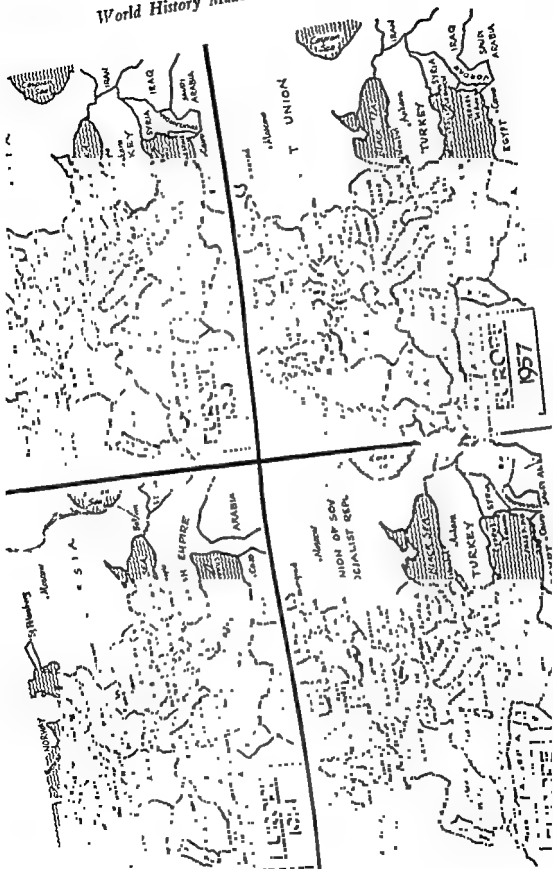


THE ROMAN EMPIRE (41 B.C.-395 A.D.)



CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE

World History Made Simple



World History Made Simple



World History Made Simple





World History Made Simple



World History Made Simple



THE EVOLUTION OF CIVILIZED MAN

HISTORICAL RECORDS

of history is the story of what probably did in the remote and more recent past. The notion probably is emphasized because his based upon records which require interpretation can serve too many masters. Records are broadly of two kinds—material remains and written accounts. Prior to 1800 the records of history are exclusively material—fossils, tools, graves, myth and art works, and the like. Such remains will even to an untrained eye that the men left them behind pursued a definite way of life, held some system of beliefs by which they led their lives. Obviously, the exact nature of modes of life and thought in prehistoric cultures may never be known as more than scientific conjectures and informed guesses based upon preliminary assumptions. Difficulties in the writing of an accurate world history therefore abound. Over the years, however, palaeontologists, geologists, archaeologists, biologists and anthropologists have been perfecting the science of inference from material and written records and have provided the historian with an agreed upon framework of the past development of mankind—however much they differ on the details.

EVOLUTIONARY BACKGROUNDS

The Nature of Man The cooperation of many scientists was required to locate Man's first appearance on earth and to account for his early development. Geologists, studying rock strata, were able to divide earth history into six eras and to associate with each era some organic, fossilized remains. Man's first remains were then located in the last of these eras. Palaeontologists and physical anthropologists analyzed these remains of human types, dated them, and arranged them in a series of developments from proto-human (that is, nearly human) to completely human species. They were aided by biologists and chemists in their scheme of classification.

type overproduction of individuals, struggle for existence and natural selection by survival of the fittest man developed from a relatively simple and generalized animal to a complex and specialized one. In this process, man retained many links to his animal past and these were evident in his skeletal arrangement and his processes of nutrition, reproduction, chemistry, neural activity, and so on. His closest relationship was to the primates since both he and they have long embryonic periods, placental and suckling traits, long infancies and similar structural configurations like specialized front legs, five digitated hands with opposable thumbs, stereoscopic vision, furrowed and convoluted cerebrums. But though the primates man was not himself one of them. He was genus—*Homo* class—*mammalia*, family—*Homidae* and species—*sapiens*.

Differentiation of genus—*Homo* Scientists believe that man kind descended from the trees during the last climax on earth of mountain building and decreasing temperature and became ground dwellers and meat eaters. This event was followed by physical adaptations in man's bodily structure. Other adaptations followed upon challenges produced by the glacial periods and by competition with other carnivores for a limited food supply. When the adaptations were completed humanoids had developed an erect posture, bipedal gait, manual dexterity, increased brain size, a complex nervous system and an expanded vocal power. Brain power and vocal power combined to produce speech, speech, in turn fed back into the brain selective abstract and creative thought. Thought power improved memory and imagination and increased man's capacities for social cooperation and the transmission of culture. If man was still an animal he was certainly the highest type existing or known to have existed.

Extinct Species Modern man is the direct descendent of *Cro-Magnon*, a species that appeared some 10,000 years ago. In the course of a million years the struggle for existence had caused a species of proto-humans to become extinct. Knowledge of these proto-humans is derived from a scattered and fragmentary collection of fossil remains—odds-and-ends of teeth, skulls, jaw bones, skeletons.

THE EVOLUTION OF CIVILIZED MAN

HISTORICAL RECORDS

Much of history is the story of what *probably* happened in the remote and more recent past. The qualification "probably" is emphasized because history is based upon records which require interpretation, interpretation can serve too many masters, unfortunately. Records are broadly of two kinds—material remains and written accounts. Prior to 5 000 years ago, the records of history are exclusively material—fossils, tools, graves, myth and ritual, art-works, and the like. Such remains will suggest, even to an untrained eye, that the men who left them behind pursued a definite way of life and held some system of beliefs by which they guided their lives. Obviously, the exact nature of the modes of life and thought in pre-historic cultures may never be known as more than scientific deductions and informed guesses based upon prevailing assumptions. Difficulties in the winning of an accurate world history, therefore, abound. Over the years, however, palaeontologists, geologists, archaeologists, and anthropologists have been perfecting the science of inference from material and written records and have provided the historian with an agreed upon framework of the past development of mankind—however much they differ on the details.

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THE EVOLUTION OF CIVILIZED MAN

HISTORICAL RECORDS

Much of history is the story of what *probably* happened in the remote and more recent past. The qualification "probably" is emphasized because history is based upon records which require interpretation, interpretation can serve too many masters unfortunately. Records are broadly of two kinds—material remains and written accounts. Prior to 5000 years ago the records of history are exclusively material—fossils, tools, graves, myth and ritual, art works, and the like. Such remains will suggest even to an untrained eye that the men who left them behind pursued a definite way of life and held some system of beliefs by which they guided their lives. Obviously, the exact nature of the modes of life and thought in prehistoric cultures may never be known as more than scientific deductions and informed guesses based upon prevailing assumptions. Difficulties in the writing of an accurate world history, therefore, abound. Over the years, however, paleontologists, geologists, archaeologists, biologists and anthropologists have been perfecting the science of inference from material and written records and have provided the historian with an agreed upon framework of the past development of mankind—however much they differ on the details.

EVOLUTIONARY BACKGROUNDS

The Nature of Man The cooperation of many scientists was required to locate Man's first appearance on earth and to account for his early development. Geologists studying rock strata, were able to divide earth history into six eras and to associate with each era some organic, fossilized remains. Man's first remains were then located in the last of these eras. Paleontologists and physical anthropologists analyzed these remains of human types dated them, and arranged them in a series of developments from proto-human (that is nearly human) to completely human species. They were

type, overproduction of individuals, struggle for existence and natural selection by survival of the fittest man developed from a relatively simple and generalized animal to a complex and specialized one. In this process, man retained many links to his animal past and these were evident in his skeletal arrangement, and his processes of nutrition, reproduction chemistry, neural activity, and so on. His closest relationship was to the primates since both he and they have long embryonic periods, placental and suckling traits, long infancies and similar structural configurations like specialized front legs, five-digited hands with opposable thumbs, stereoscopic vision, furrowed and convoluted cerebrum. But though the primates man was not himself one of. He was genus—*Homo*, class—*mammalia*, family—*Hominidae* and species—*sapiens*.

Differentiation of genus—*Homo* Scientists believe that man kind descended from the trees during the last climax on earth of mountain building and decreasing temperature and became ground-dwellers and meat eaters. This event was followed by physical adaptations in man's bodily structure, other adaptations followed upon challenges produced by the glacial periods and by competition with other carnivores for a limited food supply. When the adaptations were completed, humanoids had developed an erect posture, bipedal gait, manual dexterity, increased brain size, a complex nervous system and an expanded vocal power. Brain power and vocal power combined to produce speech. Speech in turn, fed back into the brain selective abstract and creative thought. Thought power improved memory and imagination and increased man's capacities for social cooperation and the transmission of culture. If man was still an animal he was certainly the highest type existing or known to have existed.

Extinct Species. Modern man is the direct descendant of *Cro-Magnon*, a species that appeared some 30,000 years ago. In the course of a million years, the struggle for existence had caused species of proto-humans to become extinct. Knowledge of these proto-humans is derived from a scattered and fragmentary collection of fossil remains—odds and ends of teeth, skulls, jaw-bones, skeleton

the flake." Core tools were produced by knocking chips off a large lump of flint or volcanic glass until it was reduced to a standard form, the *coup de poing* or fist hatcher. Flakes were produced by the Levallois technique: the shape of the tool desired was etched on the core then by either percussion or spatula pressure a flake was detached. The detached pieces were then shaped to desired sharpness by chipping. Earliest Paleolithic tools were undifferentiated. Over the years, however, the core tool became a primary one, that is designed to produce secondary or specialized tools for perforating, chopping, cutting, scraping or sawing. By the time of Upper Paleolithic, highly specialized tools appeared and took the forms of bone needles, harpoons, pronged fishhooks, dart throwers and bows and arrows.

Advances. Tooling revolutionized the food industry of primitive men. The mode of economy now became that of fishing and hunting. The fist hatcher made the stalking and capture of animals safer and more certain. With the invention of the sling, the dart and the bow and arrow, man could capture animals at a distance; he was now provided with a relatively permanent food supply. With the further invention of the harpoon and fishhook, an increase in the food supply took place. Masters of fire, moreover, early Paleolithic men, a varied food source as well as defense, heat and light. Now began an increase in creature comforts. Paleolithic men donned sewn clothing made from animal skins; they imitated the permanent residence, first in caves and then in crudely constructed shelters; and their men and women began to ornament themselves with beads, necklaces and pendants.

Cultural Advances. During Paleolithic, the family grouping of men expanded into larger kinship groups tracing their origin, either matrilineal or patrilineal, from a common ancestor. Out of this kinship grouping came the first cultural institutions—economic, political, educational and religious. Men assumed all the duties of the hunt; women concerned themselves with the collection and household manufacturing activities. Government was probably concerned with the maintenance of internal peace and the mightiest hunters and the older men probably arbitrated conflicts, enforced taboos and distributed food equitably. Protection of the hunting lands turned the hunters, on occasion into warriors. All strangers were, therefore, suspect. But good relations existed among neighboring groups of necessity. Often flint supplies gave out and had to be secured outside the locality by trade or animals

were forced by sudden climatic change to new grazing lands or population decline caused by an imbalance of males and females may have threatened the survival of the group.

Education was for individual survival. Until puberty, the child's education was in the hands of the women of the family. Thereafter, men took over the boy's training. He now underwent a severe initiation which included fasting, keeping long vigils and even mutilation. He was instructed in proper behavior to people and to things in the world about him; finally, he was taught to hunt safely and efficiently. Religious guidance was fundamental to the education of both girls and boys; for there were many prescriptions and prohibitions to be heeded. Remains of burial and funerary practices make clear that late in Paleolithic men began to experience religious thought and feeling. It would seem that their religious outlook included concepts of a soul or spirit belonging to each individual and of its persistence after death. Natural forces were regarded as being motivated by a mysterious, supernatural power or *mana*. Later this undifferentiated supernatural force took the shape of spirits or ghosts present unseen everywhere and in all things in the universe (animism). These spirits or ghosts were capable as was perfectly obvious from the great insecurity in which men lived, of inflicting great harm unless propitiated. To placate these unseen powers, paleolithic men introduced religious rites. They carved female figurines as symbols of fertility with exaggerated sexual organs and worshipped them. They invented sympathetic magic or the practice of destroying an enemy by first mutilating his spirit resident in some effigy of him. They ward off evil by wearing amulets and talismans of beads or pendants. Finally, they created a class of professional religious practitioners called shamans who were possessed of powers of healing, divining and casting magical spells.

Though he accepted fully a supernatural explanation of the world of nature, paleolithic man was a close observer of things that mattered most to him. This was evident in his art work. For example, on the walls of caves he carved and painted reproductions of the animals which his bond hunted—be on mammoth, stags, reindeer, wolves. The realism, the naturalistic modeling, the use of light and dark masses, the employment of harmonious or agitated rhythms, the rigorous attention to detail, the ability to suppress detail to create a center of interest, the accuracy and sureness of drawing, the arresting of movement and action, the use of polychromatic

for primates etc. Expert anatomists, however, can reconstruct whole bodies from these fragments. They have found that the older the specimen the closer it is to an ape-like appearance—absence of forehead and chin and presence of prognathous jaw, prominent supraorbital ridges, taurodontism (oversized teeth) and small cranial capacity. The human species developed from the most ape-like Java and Peking men (ca. 50,000 years ago) to the less ape-like Heidelberg and Neanderthal men (ca. 100,000 to 50,000 B.C.) and finally to the unape-like moderns Cro-Magnon. Since Cro-Magnon only one biological change has occurred, the differentiation of men into races. "Race" is determined by measurements of skin coloration, hair forms, skull shapes or cephalic indexes, and dentition or jaw formations. These measurements are accurate for the extremes of racial types only. On the basis of these extremes, scientists classify racial groups as Caucasian, Mongoloid, Negroid, etc. But classification is useless for reason of the infinite gradations between the extremes which resulted from the free intermixture of peoples throughout history.

CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION

Only man is capable of producing a culture and his history is inseparable from it. Culture (in the broadest sense of the term) is the whole of social experience—the knowledge, techniques, moral codes, customs and traditions that are transmitted by human groups from generation to generation. Each social group has a unique culture, but cultural anthropologists do distinguish these common elements in culture: the basic patterns are stable but with the years change in details; culture is conservative in its ends, but flexible in its means; it is greater and more enduring than any individual within it, but is realized only through individuals, and it is transmitted by symbols in the form of language, myth, art, religion, etc. When does a "culture" become a "civilization"? The answer to this question is quantitative. Culture becomes civilization when it produces an economic surplus, develops mastery over the environment, and has a relatively complex economic organization, a class system, urban communities, recognized government, systematized law, a form of writing and elevated thought and aesthetic patterns.

Tool Culture Cultural anthropologists live just to make a name of necessity. The first

numerous material remains of prehistoric cultures are the tools and weapons that prevailed. Considerable information about a culture can be derived from a tool. Nor can the importance of the material man's development be underestimated. It is through his cortico motor reflexes, developed his sense of spatial relationships, increased his creative power, extended his muscle power, introduced his new concepts of the possible mechanization of work, expanded his speech powers in order to transmit the tool heritage and begin the important process of division of labor and specialization of work. Thus this is no exaggeration can be judged by examining the importance of the tool or machine in our own civilization.

THE AGES OF MAN

Tools provide us with the basis for periodizing the cultural history of mankind.

The Folitic or Dawn Stone Age The Folitic or Dawn Stone Age covered the first half million years of proto human history. It was the time of Java or Peking Man. Its primary tool and weapon was a multiple purpose celt (a stone shaped like a nature and unaltered by man) which fitted the hand and could be used to stab, cut or hack. In these first days the economy was collectional—the gathering of berries, roots, small animals and insects for food. There is some evidence that language and control of fire appeared at the end of Folitic—but this is not certain. Nor is there any certainty about the grouping of men. It is assumed that the family was the basic unit of social organization and that kinship groups roamed as hunting packs or herds under the leadership of the strongest and craftiest. Nothing at all is known of the clothing or type of habitat in used for shelter.

The Paleolithic or Old Stone Age Since the Paleolithic or the Old Stone Age extended from ca. 600,000 B.C. to 10,000 B.C. and since material remains increase abundantly as times become more recent, it has been necessary to divide Paleolithic into Upper which ends about 130,000 B.C., Middle which ends about 70,000 B.C. and Lower which ends about 10,000 B.C. While Java and Peking men may have continued on from Folitic into Paleolithic, the speech is prehistorically from men. Spurred by recent man's defense needs, Paleolithic men introduced the manufactured tool. Two periods of Paleolithic culture are distinguished: Lower and Middle Paleolithic—the core and

the "flake" Core tools were produced by knocking chips off a large lump of flint or volcanic glass until it was reduced to a standard form the *coup de poing* or flint hatcher" Flakes were produced by the Levalloisian technique the shape of the tool desired was etched on the core then by either percussion or spatula pressure a flake was detached, the detached pieces were then shaped to desired sharpness by chipping Earliest Paleolithic tools were undifferentiated Over the years, however, the core tool became a primary one, that is, designed to produce secondary or specialized tools for perforating chopping cutting scraping or sawing By the time of Upper Paleolithic, highly specialized tools appeared and took the forms of bone needles, harpoons, pronged fishhooks dart throwers and bows and arrows.

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representations of concentric lines, zigzags, spirals, dots and chevrons which were scratched or painted as decorative motifs on pottery.

ANCIENT EGYPT

The Land As history recedes into the remoter past, geography emerges as a dominating if not quite the dominant factor. Ancient Egypt was to a considerable delta and desiccation.

Nile and annually that river overflowed to provide Egypt with the only moisture it had and with rich deposits of alluvial soil. Egypt proved equal to the challenge and evolved political, economic and social institutions that enabled her to capture store and distribute the floodwaters. Canals, dikes and reservoirs appeared early in the history of civilization. The cataracts were in the southern Nilotic waters and created a natural boundary there which acted as a barrier both to expansion and invasion. The desert, too, was a formidable barrier. Geography kept Egypt at peace for centuries. The mouth of the Nile spread into a fertile delta; this region made Egypt the granary of the ancient world and gave her a valuable trading link to the Mediterranean world where she finally emerged from her isolation.

Pre-dynastic Egypt No written records exist from the period prior to the first families of pharaohs (called dynasties). Excavations reveal, however, that pre-dynastic Egyptians had made important strides toward civilization. Stone was being abandoned for copper and Egyptians had already mastered the art of smelting and casting this metal. As a people, the Egyptians were racially mixed, lived in villages as farmers and animal herders, fashioned stone, wood and copper tools, decorated pottery and woven linen goods. They had reclaimed swamplands and had begun local irrigation projects. Political units called nomes existed and were ruled by local nomarchs. Powerful nomarchs had effected early union of Upper and Lower Egypt. Some form of preternatural belief existed for the dead were buried in graves along with their implements and with symbolic figures.

THE DYNASTIC PERIOD

Sources Our knowledge of civilized Egypt comes in part from the histories of Herodotus who collected legends about Egypt in the fifth century B.C., from Manetho an Egyptian priest of the third

century A.C. who drew up lists of pharaohs and from Romans like Diodorus, Strabo and Plutarch. But these are secondary to the original writings of the Egyptians themselves in the forms of papyrus or written scrolls and inscriptions on the walls of pyramids, temples, stelae or stone slabs, etc. Egyptian writing was either in a formal priestly script called hieroglyphic, a cursive business script called hieratic or a common script called demotic. Like other forms of ancient writing, the Egyptian form had passed through the stages of purely pictorial, conventional syllabic and pure syllabic or phonetic writing. In the latter case an alphabet of 24 signs was evolved—the first in history, but not widely used. Inks, pens and paper were in widespread use. All these written materials, however, were of little use to the Egyptologist until Jean-François Champollion after a decade of relentless effort deciphered the Egyptian language (1822 A.D.). He used for this purpose the Rosetta Stone found during Napoleon's invasion of Egypt (1799)—a slab containing an inscription in three languages: hieroglyphic, demotic and Greek. His decipherment founded the science of Egyptology. Besides original writing there were many material remains unearthed by the archaeologists—painted reliefs inside the pyramids, temples, tombs, tools, arms, ornaments, furniture, sculpture in great profusion, for the cold tombs and hot sands were both excellent preservers.

"Menes." Civilized Egyptians left behind no exact chronology since they began their dating anew with each pharaoh's reign. They had a solar calendar of 365 days and occasionally made records of the pharaohs in a diary and the dates of their administrations. From these fragments Egyptologists feel fairly certain that the first dynasty of a united Egypt appeared about 3400 B.C. Its founder and the uniter of Egypt was the (as yet) legendary Menes. His dynasty and the five that followed constituted in Egyptian history the period of the Old Kingdom (ca. 3400-2400).

The Old Kingdom During the first two dynasties the pharaohs established a centralized authority with themselves as rulers by divine right. Tasks of administration were delegated to an efficient bureaucracy of viziers, superintendents of public works, official scribes or record keepers and tax collectors. People were divided into classes with priests and nobles in the upper groups. During the third dynasty the pharaohs moved from the south to the lower edge of the delta at Memphis. One of them, Zoser, had a step-pyramid built as a tomb

effects—any or all of these characteristics of Cro-Magnon art establish the paleolithic trust as a very accomplished one. Nor was his skill limited to murals. He decorated his tools with small sculptures that never interfered with the function of the tool and made etchings that again illustrate his sense of realistic design. Paleolithic art was unquestionably functional in that it served the purposes of sympathetic magic; it was a form of religious ritual. But its esthetic values are timeless and universal.

The Neolithic or New Stone Age. Neolithic men exploited the possibilities of stone technology. Since surface flint deposits were nearly depleted by 10,000 B.C., a mining industry was begun. Shale was sunk and chalk veins were tapped with deer-horn picks for the flint they might yield. When required, Neolithic men burrowed long transverse tunnels in their mine pits. All tools were highly specialized now. In addition they were smoothed down to fine cutting edges on whetstones. Handles were attached to all chopping tools and they assumed distinctively modern appearances.

Toolmaking did not account for the profound revolution which occurred during the Neolithic Age. Discoveries of agriculture and the domestication of animals did. When or how these two epoch-making discoveries took place is not known. There is some evidence for the prevailing belief that women first put upon the art of cultivation, for many years it was they who farmed the land with picks, digging sticks and hoes while the men continued to hunt and fish. Domestication of animals lessened the need to hunt and fish and permitted the man to settle down as a cultivator.

What were the effects of this agricultural revolution? Permanent settlements along river valleys made their appearance; men experimented with new forms of durable housing—mud and thatch affairs or lake dwellings on high piles. Diets were enriched with large varieties of grains, fruits and vegetables where rivers overflowed. Large-scale drainage and irrigation projects were begun, grain surpluses led to increased trade and this in turn effected a revolution in transportation on land and water: the wheeled vehicle and the sail were invented. Man kind developed new, civilized habits—a sense of property, ownership, patience, industry and planning. Soil rootedness made him conscious of the seasons and the stars; new vocations came; he learned to invent things such as pottery (for storage and cooking purposes), from baked clay, the earliest to produce, etc.

He continued, of course, to serve as sources

of food, but they also provided man with a new source of motive power, new supplies of raw materials for textiles and a new means of transportation. Because of the availability of animals, plows and wheeled carts were invented, the textile industries of spinning and weaving took root. Civilization, clearly, was beginning to take shape.

Social reorganization followed upon economic revolution. Population increased rapidly and lived longer as the result of more abundant and more reliable food supplies. Though kinship grouping persisted in Neolithic times, it had become a fiction; the reality was the large tribe centered in a fixed locality. Tribal organization took on concrete form. Members of the tribe delegated to either strong men or elders authority to adjudicate an increasing number of disputes over property rights, to interpret tradition in changing circumstances, to defend the village against raids by hungry nomads, etc. This delegation of authority was the rudiment of formal government. Near the end of Neolithic times, representative governments gave way to absolute monarchies, out of necessity. An increase in the number, intensity and dire consequences of war was directly responsible. A lost war resulted in either annihilation, dispersal, subjugation or slavery. To prevent this, Neolithic groups submitted themselves to the authoritative leadership of war chiefs.

Neolithic men carried religious belief forward from its state of a generalized animism to that of polytheism. The vague spirits of Paleolithic belief now became numerous specific gods possessing immortal but human or anthropomorphic personalities. These gods resided in stones, animals, springs, trees, caves and mountains. Methods for appeasing angry gods proliferated and took the forms of human sacrifice, animal slaughter, self-mutilation or torture, vicarious sexual relations or ritual cannibalism. Belief in an after life also grew more concrete. Burials as a result became more elaborate. Chambered tombs were constructed above the graves; into the tombs were piled furniture, weapons, clothing and food for the spirit of the departed. The first form of temple worship was that of worship at monumental stone structures—dolmens or menhirs (two upright stones with a covering slab put on lintel style) or just earth, green, porous stones set individually in long rows (menhirs were 20 feet high) or in groups, like the famous one at Stonehenge. Earth and stone were used in a circle.

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representations of concentric lines zigzags spirals, dots and chevrons which were scratched or painted as decorative motifs on pottery.

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Social reorganization followed upon economic revolution. Population increased rapidly and became longer as the result of more abundant and more reliable food supplies. Though kinship groups persisted in Neolithic times, it had become a fiction in the reality. The large tribe centered in a fixed locality. Tribal organization took on concrete form. Members of the tribe delegated to either strong men or elders authority to adjudicate an increasing number of disputes over property rights, to interpret tradition in changing circumstances, to defend the village against raids by hungry nomads, etc. This delegation of authority was the rudiment of formal government. Near the end of Neolithic times representative governments gave way to absolute monarchies, out of necessity. An increase in the number, intensity and dire consequences of war was directly responsible. A lost war resulted in either annihilation, dispersal, subjugation or slavery. To prevent this, Neolithic groups subordinated themselves to the authoritarian leadership of war chiefs.

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Neolithic men carried religious belief forward from its state of a generalized animism to polytheism. The vague spirits of Paleolithic belief now became numerous specific gods personifying mortal but human or anthropomorphic personalities. These gods resided in stones, animals, springs, trees, caves and mountains. Methods for appealing to gods proliferated and took the forms of human sacrifice, animal slaughter, self-mutilation or torture, sacramental sexual relations or ritual cannibalism. Belief in an after life also grew more concrete. Burials as a result became more elaborate; chambered tombs were constructed above the graves; into the tombs were piled furniture, weapons, clothing and food for the spirit of the departed. The first form of temple worship was that of worship at monumental stone structures—dolmens or menhirs (two upright stones with a covering slab, post and lintel style), or just monumental tremendous stones set individually in long rows (some were 70 feet high), or grouped, like the famous one at Stonehenge, England, forming a line and megaliths in a circle.

Art declined during the Neolithic Age. New art disappeared and was replaced by abstract

The effect is one of motionless eternity. In the Egyptian language a sculptor was "He-who keeps-alive." How Egyptian sculptors strove for eternal life can best be seen in their sculpted portraits. These fall somewhere between lifeless masks and naturalistic reproductions; there is life in the features but eternity in the abstract geometrical form.

"Minor Arts." Egyptian craftsmen strove for beauty in adornment. Elaborate design, rich color and exquisite workmanship characterized the rugs, tapestries, cushions, furniture, vases, vessels and bowls which adorned the homes of the wealthy. Out of gold, silver, carnelian, felspar, lapis lazuli and amethyst Egyptian jewelers carved remarkable pendants, rings, bracelets and mirrors. Music, too, had a rich development and composers had lutes, harps,

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CHAPTER TWO

THE LEGACY OF THE ANCIENT NEAR ORIENT

MESOPOTAMIA

The Land. Mesopotamia lay between two rivers, Tigris and the Euphrates. In ancient days it was roughly divided by the 34th parallel—Assyria to the north and Babylonia to the south. Of the two, Babylonia was the richer for it lay in the "fertile crescent," an arc of soil extending from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean Sea and made productive by annual inundation of the twin rivers. Babylonia was itself divided into Akkad in the north and Sumer in the south. The first civilization in Mesopotamia was in Sumer on the delta, that is, amid the richest deposit of alluvial soil. To this extent, Mesopotamia paralleled Egypt. Unlike Egypt, however, there were no natural boundaries in Mesopotamia to protect it from incursions by neighboring barbaric tribes. Mesopotamia's open geography and her attractive wealth in the south made her a crossroad of conquerors and her tri-millennial history was the scene of the rise and fall of a large number of empires. In spite of this political turbulence, the first culture which arose, the Sumerian, imposed itself upon all the nations in the area.

SUMERIAN CIVILIZATION

Politics. Sumeria was a geographical expression rather than a political state. In reality there were a

number of "city-states" there—Ur, Lagash, Kish, Sumer—each ruled by a *patesi* or priest-king who directed the worship, defense and engineering works of his tiny kingdom. Patesis built temples, maintained standing armies and organized irrigation projects. Little is known of these enterprising individuals beyond their names—Mesannu-padda of Ur, Meslim of Kish, Ur-Nama of Lagash, Lugalzaggisi of Erech—and of their petty wars. Imperial possibilities in the Mesopotamian Valley were first probed by Sargon I, a usurper to the throne of Akkad. He reduced the cities in Babylonia to dependencies by conquest or threat of conquest. Then he turned northward and brought all of Syria under his aegis. This operation opened a number of protected trade routes leading to Babylonia and resulted in a sharp increase in the wealth of the empire. Sargon's grandson, Naram Sin, extended the eastern frontiers of the empire. Conquest, however, bred resistance and the weaker rulers that followed Naram Sin were unable to hold back the Gutium, a barbaric tribe from the east. The Gutium ruled Sumeria for 125 years and were overthrown, finally, by Utu hegal of Erech. A brief revival of Sumerian civilization followed and reached its height under Dungi (ca 2150 B.C.). However, simultaneous blows by the Amorites from the west and the Elamites from the east destroyed the Sumerian civilization; it disappeared as a national entity.

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EGYPTIAN ART

Characteristics Artistic genius flourished in each of the main periods of Egyptian history. It was, however, a group genius. The individual artist was submerged in the production of conventionalized art works which followed the canons and traditions first set down in the third millennium B.C. Tradition accorded primacy to architecture. Thus sculpture and painting were employed to adorn the walls of temples, tombs and palaces. An architectural spirit invadied the creation of such huge solid sculptures as the Sphinx, the columns, the obelisks and the colossal statues of the pharaohs. Even the smallest figure gave the impression of being a large scale monumental carving. Since monuments stress the eternal, architects and sculptors alike sought to eliminate all unessential details to capture the enduring likeness of things. Finally, art was in the service of religion, no matter how secular the subject.

Architecture Egyptian architecture took the forms of the tomb, the temple and the palace. Representative architecture in the Old Kingdom was the pyramid. Pyramids evolved out of *mastabas* superstructures over graves. *Mastabas* had two rooms—a chapel for services to the *ka* and a cellar of a statue of the deceased. *Mastaba* walls were lined with painted reliefs reproducing the environment of the dead man. When *mastabas* of diminishing size were heaped one upon another, the step pyramid such as that of Zoser at Sakkara, was created. In the original chapel and cellar were elaborated until they became temples, colonnaded halls, three ceremonial courtyards and the like. In its final form—the pyramid—all of these tendencies were condensed into a four part architectural scheme: the pyramid itself, a colonnade of the burial chamber, and false chambers and shafts to permit the life of the living star and pile star to enter the burial chamber; the chapel adjoining the pyramid in the east for offering and ceremonial; a covered causeway leading over the cliffs to the pyramid; and a "Valley temple" the vestibule of the causeway. Leaving this complex of buildings was a great sphinx, a person of the sun with the body of a lion. A part of the pyramid derived

from its towering domination of the area, a domination achieved by the principle of contrast of its great height with the flat desert and the bare necropolises (cemeteries), of the smooth faced, undecorated surface of the pyramid with the granulated sands around it. It imposed on its visitor the sense of their own puniness in the face of the eternal, even Caesar and Napoleon were momentarily humbled before it.

Decline in pharaonic power during the Middle Kingdom promoted the construction of the tomb which consisted of chambers dug out of the earth facing the Nile. These excavations took on a structural form when their entrances were adorned with facades of columns, colossal and sphinxes preceded with the usual complex of temples and gardens. The rock tomb of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahar is an outstandingly beautiful example of this type of Egyptian architecture.

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Sculpture Characteristic of Egyptian sculpture is the colossal statues of the pharaohs—statues of the pharaohs seated in the prime position of the human body with the heads of an eagle, wall reliefs containing hieroglyphs or incision and carved in relief. This combined method is sometimes the natural (as in the case of the sphinx), sometimes the artificial (as in the case of the sphinx). The subject was drawn from the perspective from which it could be most fully seen. Thus pharaohs were depicted as seen from above, seated and standing from the front, the pharaohs seated and standing from the side, the pharaohs seated and standing from the back, the pharaohs seated and standing from the front, the pharaohs seated and standing from the back, the pharaohs seated and standing from the front, the pharaohs seated and standing from the back.

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SUMERIAN CIVILIZATION

Politically Sumeria was a geographical expression rather than a political state. In reality there were a

number of "city-states" there—Ur, Lagash, Kish, Uruk—each ruled by a *pu-en* or priest-king who directed the worship, defense and engineering works of his tiny kingdom. Patrons built temples, maintained standing armies and organized irrigation projects. Little is known of these enterprising individuals beyond their names—Mesannipadda of Ur, Mesilim of Kish, Ur-Nansha of Lagash, Lugalzagesi of Uruk—and of their petty wars. Imperial possibilities in the Mesopotamian Valley were first probed by Sargon I, a usurper to the throne of Akkad. He reduced the cities in Babylonia to dependencies by conquest or threat of conquest. Then he turned northwestward and brought all of Syria under his hegemony. This operation opened a number of protected trade routes leading to Babylonia and resulted in a sharp increase in the wealth of the empire. Sargon's grandson, Naram-Sin, extended it

to the north and west. He attacked the Gutium, a barbaric tribe from the east. The Gutium ruled Sumeria for 125 years and were overthrown finally by Ur-Nansha of Uruk. A brief revival of Sumerian civilization followed and reached its height under Dungi (ca. 2150 B.C.). However, simultaneous blows from the Amorites from the west and the Elamites from the east dealt the Sumerian empire its death blow. It disappeared.

converted it into secret lore to be transmitted from father to son, an agricultural economy did not encourage new ventures and fostered magical rites instead of experimental methods, and almost universal illiteracy created poverty of thought and a superstitious world-outlook.

EGYPTIAN ART

Characteristics. Artistic genius flourished in each of the main periods of Egyptian history. It was, however, a group-genius. The individual artist was submerged in the production of conventionalized art works which followed the canons and traditions first set down in the third millennium B.C. Tradition accorded primacy to architecture. Thus sculpture and painting were employed to adorn the walls of temples, tombs and palaces. An architectural spirit invaded the creation of such huge, solid sculptures as the Sphinx, the columns, the obelisks and the colossal statues of the pharaohs. Even the smallest figure gave the impression of being a large-scale, monumental carving. Since monuments stress the eternal, architects and sculptors alike sought to eliminate all unessential details to capture the enduring likeness of things. Finally, art always was in the service of religion, no matter how secular the subject.

Architecture. Egyptian architecture took the forms of the tomb, the temple and the palace. Representative architecture in the Old Kingdom was the pyramid. Pyramids evolved out of mastaba superstructures over graves. Mastabas had two rooms—a chapel for services to the ka and a cellar of a statue of the deceased. Mastaba walls were lined with painted reliefs reproducing the environment of the dead man. When mastabas of diminishing size were heaped one upon another the step pyramid such as that of Zoser at Sakkara was created. Now the original chapel and cellar were elaborated until they became temples, colonnaded halls, shrines, ceremonial courtyards and the like. In its final

from its towering domination of the area, a domination achieved by the principle of contrast—its great height with the flat desert and the low necropolises (cemeteries), of the smooth, polished, ridgescent surface of the pyramid with the granulated sands around it. It imposed on its viewers the sense of their own puniness in the face of the eternal, even Caesar and Napoleon were momentarily humbled before it.

Decline in pharaonic power during the Middle Kingdom promoted the construction of the tomb, which consisted of chambers dug out of the cliffs facing the Nile. These excavations took on architectural form when their entrances were adorned with facades of columns, columns and sphinxes and preceded with the usual complex of temples and gardens. The rock tomb of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahari is an outstandingly beautiful example of this type of Egyptian architecture.

With the rise of the priesthood during the Empire Period the temple became the primary architectural form. Those of Amun Ra at Karnak and of Horus at Luxor are typical of temple style. The style is designated as pylon. In a typical pylon temple one proceeded from an avenue of symmetrically placed obelisks and columns through a gateway separating the pylons or facades of the structure into a colonnaded court. The court led to a roofed hypostyle hall (one with many huge columns and light filtering through clerestory windows) and then to a low, dark sanctuary. The court was for access to the masses, the hypostyle hall for a church service, and the sanctuary for the pharaoh alone. The temple itself was massive—every inch of wall space was consumed in painted bas-reliefs. Columns with lotus capitals provided the main decorative element. While the overall design is simple and functional, an architect occasionally employed the structure. Temple, then, the word plays a role in the word plays.

The effect is one of motionless eternity. In the Egyptian language a sculptor was 'He who-keeps-alive.' How Egyptian sculptors strove for eternal life can best be seen in their sculpted portraits. These fall somewhere between lifeless masks and naturalistic reproductions, there is life in the features but eternity in the abstract geometrical form.

"Minor Arts." Egyptian craftsmen strove for beauty in adornment. Elaborate design, rich color and exquisite workmanship characterized the rugs, tapestries, cushions, furniture, vases, vessels and bowls which adorned the homes of the wealthy. Out of gold, silver, carnelian, felspar, lapis lazuli and amethyst Egyptian jewelers carved remarkable pendants, rings, bracelets and mirrors. Music, too, had a rich development and composers had lutes, harps,

astrums (almost like castanets), flutes and lyres to work with.

Egyptian Philosophy. No record exists of systematic philosophizing by Egyptian thinkers. Senefru's Priest (ca 2900 B.C.), Prahhotep (ca 2600 B.C.), Ipuwer (ca 2000 B.C.) and the "Eloquent Peasant" (ca 1800 B.C.) were, at best, practical or denunciatory moralists. They stressed rules of conduct which enforced the conservatism, the social status and principle of acceptance inherent in the philosophy of Ma'at, or they denounced the absence of these virtues during periods of public dissatisfaction. The ability of Egyptians to think abstractly was, apparently, confined to their religious theorizing.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LEGACY OF THE ANCIENT NEAR ORIENT

MESOPOTAMIA

The Land Mesopotamia lay between two rivers, Tigris and Euphrates. In ancient times it was a fertile land where life and humanity flourished.

God too was righteous, and determined to make his righteousness prevail.

The Chosen People God had made man in His own image as proclaimed in Genesis. But the first man and woman had rebelled against Him and had incurred His wrath. This first transgression corrupted humanity. But God, in His infinite mercy, had covenanted with Abraham and his descendants to make the Hebrews a great nation, His "chosen people." Thus, he gave them a Law to control their conduct and commanded them, as their part of the covenant, to love their One God with all their soul, heart and might. The details of this covenant are recorded in the Old Testament.

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Architecture due to violence of climate (no tall buildings - no towers). This was their outstanding contribution to civilization.

THE HEBREWS

Foundations. It is believed today that the Hebrews arose from a great commingling of Semitic speaking tribes like the Arameans, Edomites, Ammonites and Canaanites and non-Semitic like the Anatolians and Hittites. According to their own traditions, their ancestors, originating in Babylonian or were led into southern Palestine by Abraham and his sons about 1500 B.C. At this time the Hebrews were nomadic cattle and sheep herders. During a period of Egyptian weakness some Hebrews settled alongside the Egyptian delta thrived for a while (the Joseph story) were then enslaved - perhaps by Rameses II - and were finally rescued from their rebellious, involuntary servitude by Moses who also led them to the worship of Yahweh and gave them the rudiments of law and social organization. This was about 1150 B.C. After long years of desert wandering the Hebrews came to the east bank of the Jordan River where they

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extended Hebrew domination eastward
and founded a new capital at Jerusalem. At Jeru-
salem the worship of Jehovah was raised to new
spiritual heights as evidenced in the many Psalms
composed (according to tradition) by David himself.

Under King Solomon (975-935 B.C.), the central
administration of the Hebrew kingdom achieved
near Oriental plenitude. Solomon expanded the power
of the Hebrews by deft diplomacy and foreign
alliance by controlling all trade routes with forti-
fied points by which administration of the kingdom
was maintained. He strengthened the religious faith of the Hebrews by constructing a
temple at Jerusalem out of stone and cedar wood to
house the sacred Ark of the Covenant. Temple
worship in turn, stimulated ritualism and priestly
dominance.

Division and Dispersal. Solomon's luxurious
life was achieved by oppressive taxation and
forced labor. His Oriental despotism and ritual
dominance was achieved at the expense of
moral and spiritual progress. After his death
the kingdom turned to ruin and the Hebrews
were scattered.

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Ethics Out of their examination of moral choices, the Hebrews framed a comprehensive moral code from which there could be no departure without the danger of incurring punishment. The ethical code demanded (in part) wise conduct, rectitude, justice, honesty, uprightness, integrity, no exploitation of one's fellow man, no traffic in ill-gotten gains, aid to the needy, no adultery, industriousness, restrained speech, generosity, altruism, obedience to parents, modesty. The moral code, Hebrews felt, was divinely originated. God's justice consisted in the enforcement of His own code. Man was free to obey God's commands and to disobey.

Sin Man could sin in many ways in part by inquiry, resistance to God, violation of the covenant, blasphemy, unbelief, brutality, oppression of the underprivileged, irresponsibility, stubbornness, arrogance, pride, etc. This was personal transgression but one could commit both social and cultural transgression as well. Social sin was any sexual, economic, military, hygienic or political act that threatened to destroy the community. Sinful man was not without hope for the Hebrews also viewed God as a God of love, grace, faithfulness, redemption and forgiveness. Repentant, trusting and prayerful man could win forgiveness and redemption.

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Art. Hittite art consisted of the usual fabrication of animal figurines, jugs and goblets, ornaments, primitive stone idols, polychromatic pottery with geometric decor and the like. Glyphic cylinder seals were beautifully incised. Monumental reliefs were picturesque and vividly narrative. Hittites executed some sculpture in the round and passed the concept of the winged lion on to the Assyrians who elaborated this device into fine art.

PHOENICIA

The impact of tiny Phoenicia upon world civilization was, in the long run, greater than that of the mighty Hittites. Phoenicia was a land of city-states—Tyre, Sidon, Byblos and Beirut—joined in a loose union under the hegemony of the king of Tyre. It opened directly upon the Mediterranean Sea and showed expert maritime prowess. As a result, the Phoenicians were the first explorers in history, the discoverers, for example, of England and its rich

minerals. The land from the dominion of the Moabites and Ammonites. Emboldened with success, the Hebrews crossed over the Jordan and after long and arduous years of battle defeated the Edomites and Canaanites for the possession of Palestine. Defeat of these two enemies was accomplished piecemeal, tribe by tribe, for there was as yet no unity among the tribes of the Hebrews. In adapting to the new land and an agricultural-commercial way of life, the Hebrews succumbed to many Canaanite influences, particularly that of Baal worship, that is, nature-worship of the gods of fertility. National unity and the purity of their faith were the major problems to be solved at this time (ca. the eleventh century B.C.).

Unity and Purity. Unity was imposed on the Hebrew nation from without. Incursions of Indo-European and Greek tribes into the lands of the eastern Mediterranean compelled a tribe of Philistines to move into southern Palestine. The Hebrews were either subjugated by these superior warriors or driven into the hills. About 1025 B.C. the Hebrews regrouped under the leadership of Saul who began the assault on the Philistines, but his success against the Philistines was registered by

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David drove the Philistines on to a narrow part of the southern shore, united the northern and southern tribes, completed the conquest of Canaan, extended Hebrew domination east to the Jordan and founded a new capital at Jerusalem. At Jerusalem the worship of Jehovah was raised to new spiritual heights as evidenced in the many Psalms (inspired by tradition) by David himself. Under his son Solomon (975-935 B.C.), the central Hebrew kingdom achieved its greatest glory. Solomon expanded the political frontiers and foreign

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Sin Man could sin in many ways in part by iniquity, resistance to God, violation of the covenant, blasphemy, unbelief, brutality, oppression of the underprivileged, irresponsible litig., stubbornness, arrogance, pride, etc. This was personal transgression, but one could commit both social and cultic transgression as well. Social sin was any sexual, economic, military, hygienic or political act that threatened to destroy the community. Sinful man was not without hope for the Hebrews also viewed God as a God of love, grace, faithfulness, redemption and forgiveness. Repentant, trusting and prayerful man could win forgiveness and redemption.

Eschatology (the Doctrine of Last Things.) Hebrew eschatological thought was based upon apocalyptic utterances of the prophets, these apocalypses were divine revelations of things to come. The future of mankind followed from the Hebrew conception of history. Since God was active in the affairs of men, He was concerned with seeing that His will be done. Hence Jews looked forward to a culmination of history in a Last Judgment when the good would be rewarded and the evil punished. God would judge his sons as a stern Father, mercifully but firmly. As men had sown, so would they reap.

Finally, the Hebrews believed that the coming of the Last Judgment would be preceded by the

them, but they were cautioned in their sacred writings, the Zend-Avesta, that Mazda would one day conquer Ahriman, on that day there would be a Last Judgment (following the arrival of a messiah), the good would be sent to Paradise, the wicked to Hell. Among the wicked would be those guilty of gluttony, sloth, pride, etc., the good would have kept their contracts, obeyed their rulers, given alms to the poor, etc.

Persian kings claimed to live by the words of Zoroaster and to rule with righteousness and justice. In their turn, the people worshipped in Zoroastrian temples ruled over by the Magi, or priests. The symbol of Persian worship was the sacred fire kept eternally burning by generations of Magi.

Zoroastrianism was a great advance over previous Sumerian faiths. Polytheism was supplanted by a simpler dualism, religion by ritual gave way to religion by ethical behavior, pessimism and hedonism surrendered to a more optimistic hope for the future and to life guided by principle rather than appetite.

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Their power was manifest in the mighty cities which they built at Knossos and Phaestus on the island itself. Knossos for example, was dominated by the king's palace which was at least two stories high, contained a maze of living rooms, store rooms, workshops, offices, etc., was equipped with plumbing that provided running water and efficient sewage. Attached to the palace were factories which turned out articles for export—pottery, textiles and metal goods.

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THE GLORY THAT WAS GREECE

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history, in other words, is a good example of the interdependence of peoples.

Nonetheless, there is considerable justification in proclaiming the Greeks a people apart from the Oriental cultural tradition. At the height of their civilization, the cultural values of the Greeks included humanism, freedom, rationalism and idealism—values otherwise virtually unknown in the world of the ancient Orient.

Humanism stressed the importance of man and his happiness in the here and now, not in some shadowy after life. This emphasis on happiness led the Greeks to invent many forms of freedom—the city state, the direct democracy, freedom of speech, etc. Rationalism led them to reject institutionalized religion and the omnipotence of a self aggrandizing priesthood and to substitute a spirit of free inquiry in the search for truth and for moral and rational self-control. Idealism was linked by them with the quest for perfection, beauty and balance. These values combined to nourish their creative imagination and resulted in the production of "classics," that is, immortal works in art, literature, philosophy, political theory, mathematics and mythology. These "classics" are some of the sources of western culture.

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Invasion and dispersion were not without positive results. The decadent remnants of Minoan Mycenaean culture were destroyed, paving way for a new culture, the Greek nation differentiated into varied and conflicting types each occupying a fixed territory, and this spurred the growth of individualism. Greek culture became Mediterranean rather than Balkan, overseas, the Greeks came into contact with the civilizing ways of the Near East, and passage over the seas required that the Greeks become maritime minded and oriented to a life of trade and commerce.

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Invasion and dispersion were not without positive results. The decadent remnants of Minoan Mycenaean culture were destroyed, paving way for a new culture, the Greek nation differentiated into varied and conflicting types each occupying a fixed territory and thus spurred the growth of individualism. Greek culture became Mediterranean rather than Balkan, overseas, the Greeks came into contact with the civilizing ways of the Near East, and passage over the seas required that the Greeks become “maritime minded” and oriented to a life of trade and commerce.

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The "Homeric" Greeks were the people of the Odyssey and the Iliad. They were the people who were the first to settle in the Aegean islands and the Balkan peninsula. They were the people who were the first to develop a civilization that was based on trade and commerce. They were the people who were the first to develop a culture that was based on humanism, freedom, rationalism and idealism.

elder son of all family holdings, desire for adventure coupled with improved methods of navigation, political discontent, the search for commercial outlets or new sources of mineral and timber supplies. Colonies were usually collective municipal enterprises and many overseas colonies were controlled by the homeland. This colonization extended from the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar) to the Black Sea. There were settlements in what is now Spain, France (Marseilles), Piedmont, Corfu, most of Sicily (*Magna Graecia*) and southern Italy, Yugoslavia, Constantinople, Egypt, and Libya. The significance of this emigration and colonization can hardly be exaggerated. It meant the extension of Greek or Western Civilization to virtually the entire Mediterranean basin, at the same time, it meant the increase of wealth which followed upon colonization made possible the flowering of the Greek genius. Agriculture expanded, maritime trade blossomed, this in turn encouraged production in Greece of articles for export—pottery, textile, mineral wool, dye and shipbuilding industries flourished, labor shortages increased, slave gathering, increased trade spread the use of coinage and systems of credit, surpluses of wealth deepened the division between rich and poor but also made the class structure of the Greeks more fluid by creating a middle or commercial class whose wealth did not depend on land ownership. Noble now sought merchant, merchant sought artisan, noble sought peasant, and the result was a social mobility that led to the invention of many new political forms which were handed on to future civilizations.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN ANCIENT GREECE

Each city state had its own complex history, but we shall consider only the history of the two city states that early rose to commanding position—Sparta and Athens. Their ways of life were so contradictory, their influence on history so diverse that they provide drama as well as centers of attention.

Sparta. One modern historian proclaims the history of Sparta as an 'interesting example of arrested development'. Yet, when Plato sought a model for his utopian city state in *The Republic* he selected Sparta. Sparta's origin was most nearly 'pure Doric' for it was the barbaric Doric tribes that descended on Laconia (ca. 1100 B.C.) and built a kingdom there. From the beginning their king in was a 'cloned' or 'trained' society. Most of the

natives were enslaved as "helots"; some were made "free neighbors," but were denied political rights or the freedom to enter the ruling class by intermarriage. In these days the Spartans mixed severity with toleration in their rule and out of this spirit of toleration came a Spartan art—fine pottery and delicate ivory carvings, and music such as Terpander's mural meters, Thaletus's patriotic hymns, Tyrtaeus's victory odes and Aleman's love songs. All this happened before the Messenian Wars.

Messenian Wars 736-716 B.C. In 736 B.C. Sparta conquered her neighbor Messenia using "border incidents" as an excuse. The Messenian population was reduced to "free neighbors" and helot status and the lands of the nobles were confiscated and divided. In 650 B.C., the subjugated Messenians revolted, won the support of a number of Greek city states, and fought the Spartans to a standstill for twenty years before they were crushed again. This war brought to the Spartan rulers the terrifying realization that they were a mere 30,000 trying to dominate 120,000 'free neighbors' and 210,000 helots, one for every ten that despised their harsh rule. Hereafter, all of Sparta was placed under severe martial law, and the creative spark in Spartan life was stifled.

Lycurgus. Tradition ascribed the creation of the new Spartan state to a lawgiver Lycurgus (probably mythical). Three cities were created in law and given geographic location. In the center were the Spartiates, a pure and simple military caste. They lived under a system of state communism and in constant preparedness for war. Surrounding them were the helots or state serfs; as serfs they could not be sold, shifted, freed or put to death by anyone but the state. Their conditions were miserable and their mood was continuously rebellious, therefore secret police watched them continuously and special squads of Spartan youth were authorized to kill any helot whom they suspected of rebellion. In the outer ring were the businessmen and they were placed outside to serve as dams to the helots; they were exempt from military discipline, were given a monopoly of the privilege of trade, but were prohibited from intermarrying with the Spartiates, were heavily taxed and subject, in emergency, to draft into the heavy infantry.

Militarism. Military training of Spartiates began at infancy. Defective infants were destroyed. At seven boys were taken from home and placed in barracks under older youths. They were then hardened by exposure, near starvation and flaming living and sleeping were encouraged when success

ful. At twenty, the survivors married by compulsion and began military training. As warrior husbands they lived and dined in common; they saw their wives occasionally or by stealth. At thirty they became citizens and full fledged members of the armed forces. The Spartiates sought to produce hardy warriors by building the bodies of the mothers too; girls got the same physical training as the boys and were famed for their physical prowess and beauty. They were even more famed for the Stoic courage they exhibited in giving their husbands and sons to the war machine. Under such conditions an invincible fighting force was produced and it dominated the military scene for two centuries. Thereafter the system declined rapidly. The remaining 10,000 Spartiates dwindled to 1,000; the land system broke down; the treasury was

nothing but a terrible example of man's infinite capacity for the use of some virtues to destroy all values.

Government. Among themselves the Spartiates enjoyed democratic rule. Power to legislate was lodged with a popular assembly made up of privileged Spartiates thirty years of age or older. The assembly chose a council and five ephors who served as magistrates, secretaries of foreign affairs, and presiding officers of the assembly. The council had 28 members 60 years of age or older and two "kings." They were chosen from a limited group of noble families and served as chief executives and as the supreme criminal court; they could check on the acts of the assembly. The kings were council members, priests, and army commanders. They were privileged, but powerless. Check and balance then characterized the Spartan government.

The Peloponnesian League. On the Pelopon-

only Argos senior revolt was suppressed, Sparta turned on and defeated Argos. The allies of Argos (Elis, Corinth, Sicyon, Megara, Aegina, Troezen and Argolis) now capitulated to Spartan superiority and made an alliance with Sparta. The resulting Peloponnesian League was a defensive-offensive alliance to which members contributed funds and soldiers in time of war. Members met in a congress, and at their meeting Sparta had as many votes as the others combined.

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Evolution of a Democratic City State. Athenian democracy must not be confused with its modern counterpart. It was not based upon equality; at its height Athenian democracy excluded aliens, women and slaves from a share in government. The active citizen force in 430 B.C. numbered no more than 30,000 out of a population of about 250,000 free persons. Throughout its history, citizenship remained restricted. Athenian democracy, then, was democracy for the few. For the few democracy conferred the rights of individual freedom. In all other ancient societies the individual was submerged in the community; men lived in the mass and as a mass. In Athens, however, there evolved the concept that the body politic existed primarily so that individualized citizens could realize their egos, ambitions, capacities and talents in full. Political institutions were adapted in the course of centuries, to this end and when they were fully evolved by the middle of the fifth century, the Athenians were enjoying the forms of democracy. Later ages merely added more substance to these forms.

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eldest son of all family holdings, desire for adventure coupled with improved methods of navigation, political discontent, the search for commercial outlets or new sources of mineral and timber supplies. Colonies were usually collective municipal enterprises and many overseas colonies were controlled by the homeland. This colonization extended from the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar) to the Black Sea. There were settlements in what is now Spain, France (Marseilles), Piedmont, Corsica, most of Sicily (*Magna Graecia*) and southern Italy, Yugoslavia, Constantinople, Egypt, and Libya. The significance of this emigration and colonization can hardly be exaggerated: it meant the extension of Greek or Western Civilization to virtually the entire Mediterranean basin, at the same time, it meant the increase of wealth which followed upon colonization made possible the flowering of the Greek genius. Agriculture expanded, maritime trade blossomed, this in turn encouraged production in Greece of articles for export—pottery, textile, mineral wool, dye and shipbuilding industries flourished, labor shortages increased slave gathering, increased trade spread the use of coinage and systems of credit, surpluses of wealth deepened the division between rich and poor but also made the class structure of the Greeks more fluid by creating a middle or commercial class whose wealth did not depend on land ownership. Noble now fought merchant, merchant fought artisan, noble fought peasant, and the result was a social mobility that led to the invention of many new political forms which were handed on to future civilizations.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN ANCIENT GREECE

Each city state had its own complex history, but we shall consider only the history of the two city states that early rose to commanding position—Sparta and Athens. Their ways of life were so contradictory, their influence on history so diverse that they provide drama as well as centers of attention.

Sparta. One modern historian proclaims the history of Sparta as an "interesting example of arrested development." Yet, when Plato sought a model for his utopian city state in *The Republic*, he selected Sparta. Sparta's origin was not nearly "pure Doric," for it was the barbaric Doric tribes that descended on Laconia (ca. 1100 B.C.) and built a kingdom there from the beginning. Their kingdom was a "closed" or "starved" society. Most of the

natives were enslaved as "helots"; some were made "free neighbors," but were denied political rights or the freedom to enter the ruling class by intermarriage. In these days the Spartans mixed severity with toleration in their rule and out of this spirit of toleration came a Spartan art—fine pottery and delicate ivory carvings, and music such as Terpander's martial meters, Thaletas's patriotic hymns, Tyrtaeus's victory odes and Alkman's love songs. All this happened before the Messenian Wars.

Messenian Wars 736-716 B.C. In 736 B.C. Sparta conquered her neighbor Messenia, using "border incidents" as an excuse. The Messenian population was reduced to "free neighbors" and helot status and the lands of the nobles were confiscated and divided. In 690 B.C., the subjected Messenians revolted, won the support of a number of Greek city states, and fought the Spartans to a standstill for twenty years before they were crushed again. This war brought to the Spartan rulers the terrifying realization that they were a mere 30,000 trying to dominate 120,000 "free neighbors" and 210,000 helots, one for every ten that despised their harsh rule. Hereafter, all of Sparta was placed under severe martial law, and the creative spark in Spartan life was snuffed.

Lycurgus. Tradition ascribed the creation of the new Spartan state to a legislator, *Lycurgus* (probably mythical). Three castes were created by law and given geographic location. In the center were the Spartiates, a pure and simple military caste. They lived under a system of state communism and in constant preparedness for war. Surrounding them were the helots or state serfs; as serfs they could not be sold, shifted, freed or put to death by anyone but the state. Their conditions were miserable and their mood was continuously rebellious, therefore, secret police watched them continuously and special squads of Spartan youth were authorized to kill any helot whom they suspected of rebellion. In the outer ring were the businessmen and they were placed outside to serve as diam to the helots; they were exempt from military discipline, were given a monopoly of the privilege of trade, they were prohibited from intermarrying with the Spartiates, were heavily taxed and subject, in emergency, to draft into the heavy infantry.

Militarism. Military training of Spartiates began at infancy. Defective infants were destroyed. At seven boys were taken from their mothers and placed in barracks under older youths. They were then hardened by exposure to starvation and physical living and training were encouraged when success

ful At twenty, the survivors married by compulsion and began military training As warrior-husbands they lived and dined in common they saw their wives occasionally or by stealth At thirty, they became citizens and full fledged members of the armed forces The Spartiates sought to produce hardy warriors by building the bodies of the mothers too girls got the same physical training as the boys and were famed for their physical prowess and beauty They were even more famed for the Stoic courage they exhibited in giving their husbands and sons to the war machine Under such conditions an invincible fighting force was produced and it dominated the military scene for two centuries Thereafter the system declined rapidly The remaining 10 000 Spartiates dwindled to 1000, the land system broke down the treasury was emptied by war All human values had disappeared—intellectualism imagination, free thought, free expression, morality and home life Sparta left posterity nothing but a terrible example of man's infinite capacity for the use of some virtues to destroy all values.

Government Among themselves, the Spartiates enjoyed democratic rule Power to legislate was lodged with a popular assembly made up of privileged Spartiates thirty years of age or older The assembly chose a council and five ephors who served as magistrates, secretaries of foreign affairs, and presiding officers of the assembly The council had 28 members, 60 years of age or older and run "kings" They were chosen from a limited group of noble families and served as chief executives and as the supreme criminal court they could check on the acts of the assembly The kings were council members, priests and army commanders They were privileged but powerless Check and balance, then, characterized the Spartan government

The Peloponnesian League On the Peloponnesus only Argos challenged Spartan overlordship it was Argos that led the allied forces supporting the Messenians in their revolt against Sparta When the revolt was suppressed, Sparta turned on and defeated Argos. The allies of Argos (Elis, Corinth, Sicyon, Megara, Aegina, Troezen and Argolis) now capitulated to Spartan superiority and made an alliance with Sparta The resulting Peloponnesian League was a defensive-offensive alliance to which members contributed funds and soldiers in time of war Members met in a congress, and at their meeting Sparta had as many votes as the others combined

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new division of the Athenian citizenry into ten "tribes." The aristocratic Council of 400 was replaced by a Council of 500 made up of 50 delegates from each of the "tribes." Each tribe was expected to provide the army with a regiment and a general, thus the army was "democratized." A direct democracy was instituted: every citizen was expected to serve either in the Assembly which voted on the proposals of the Council of 500, declared war or made peace, voted appropriations or elected archons, or to serve in the Council of 500 itself, the body which prepared legislation and administered all laws passed by the Assembly, or to serve on citizen juries, each consisting of 501 members (such as that which tried Socrates), which decided by secret ballot on cases brought before it, and, of course, to serve in the army when called. To prevent the return of tyranny, Cleisthenes introduced the procedure of ostracism of those who threatened the peace or democracy of the state. Party strife was reduced, finally, by having all offices filled by lot. Athenian democracy had now reached a high point.

Pericles (500-c. 429 B.C.) This greatest statesman of antiquity who ruled Athens as a "political boss" for thirty years and who introduced the idea of payment for public services could say with justified pride

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In short, I say that as a city we are the school of Hellas. (Thucydides, History of the Peloponnesian War)

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THE WARS OF ANCIENT GREECE

The Greek nations were forced to fight their way to freedom because they were caught between the Persian Empire expanding westward from Asia Minor and Carthage expanding eastward from North Africa. The Persian menace first struck the Ionian Greeks who were resident in Asia Minor, by 546 B.C. Cyrus had subdued all the Greek cities there. Mainland Greece was now faced with the possibility that the Persians would cross over the Hellespont into Europe. Already the Persians were seeking to dominate the sea trade on the Mediterranean. When therefore, Aristagoras in 499 B.C. led the Ionian cities in revolt against Darius, Athens risked the fury of the Persians by sending them naval assistance, Sparta refused to send aid. Darius gathered tremendous land and naval forces for an assault on Greece itself.

The Persians first landed at Marathon (490 B.C.) This direct threat to the independence of all the Greeks failed to unify them; the Athenian army was left to face the Persians alone. Under the military leadership of Miltiades and Callimachus the Persians were routed and driven into the sea. The results of this victory were immense: it showed that the Persians were not invincible; it delayed a second Persian attack for ten years; it began the Athenian leadership of Greece; it spelled the end of the tyranny as a form of government (for the Persians were fostering this form on the Ionian shore); it inspired the great classics of Aeschylus and Herodotus; it ensured that "western civilization" as opposed to "oriental civilization" would prevail in Europe. Of more immediate value, it forced the Greek cities to unite against the certainty of the second attack.

This attack came in 480 B.C. Xerxes, the son of Darius, had gathered a force of 200,000 men for the attack and had selected Thermopylae as the battleground. Leonidas made his immortal stand against the Persians here and delayed them long enough to permit the evacuation of Athens. The Greeks were unable to prevent the destruction of Athens, nor did they make strenuous efforts to defeat the Persians on land. Greek strategy was to achieve a decisive victory on the sea. They met the

forces. There was also an assembly of all who served in the heavy infantry, called the *Ecclesia*, the power of the Assembly was to elect magistrates from the nobility. The citizen population was divided in two ways. There was a military hierarchy, and an economic division existed as well: the landlords, the urban middle class and the free smaller farmers.

Conflict of Classes. Unlike Spartan, Athenian class divisions were not stratified or static, economic growth caused bitter conflict to flare up, and out of this conflict of classes came the expansion of democracy. About 650 B.C. the oligarchy gave way to a timocracy. Both involved rule by the few, but where the oligarchs drew their power from birth and land, the timocrats drew theirs from more generalized wealth. This shift in the base of political power was due to the conflicts generated by economic expansion. The wealth of the urban merchants increased while that of the smaller farmers and city artisans decreased. Small farmers were ruined by population growth which forced a redivision of already small holdings by foreclosures on high interest mortgages, by ruinous competition from imports from the overseas colonies and by a shortage of coinage which deflated prices. Many were forced to become tenant farmers or serfs. Artisans found themselves squeezed between a rising cost of living and reduced wages caused by an increasing influx of slave labor.

Fearfully, the landlords and merchants combined against a potential threat of revolt by ruined farmers

discontent—to overthrow the existing government and to set up benevolent dictatorships. Athens was ripe for tyranny. Draco's Code had not suppressed economic protest nor had the reforms of Solon (ca. 638-558 B.C.) a wise nobleman who had been invested with supreme power as an arbiter to solve the economic muddle.

Solon tried compromise economic reforms: he abolished enslavement as a penalty for debt, he cancelled existing mortgages on land to prevent further foreclosures, he introduced a new coinage to reverse the deflation, and intervened with state aid to stimulate manufacturing and trade. He then extended democracy by giving the poorer class a vote in the Assembly, by creating popular law courts on which all citizens might serve, by granting all citizens a voice in the election of magistrates, and by forming a new group, the Council of 400 to discuss and prepare the laws for the *Ecclesia*. But these economic and political reforms did not subdue the turmoil, three new factions appeared: the "Plains" or noble party, the "Hills" or party of the poor farmers, and the "Shore" or party of the merchants. In 594 B.C. a leader of the party of the "Hills" seized the Acropolis and made himself the tyrant of Athens.

Benevolent Dictatorship. Pisistratus, with the aid of foreign mercenaries maintained his dictatorship until his death (527 B.C.). During his one-man rule, however, he made great strides in solving the economic crisis. By fostering the mining of silver

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Not are these the only points in which our city is worthy of admiration. We cultivate refinement without extravagance and knowledge without effeminacy; wealth we employ more for use than for show; and place the real disgrace of poverty not in owning to the fact but in declining to struggle against it. Our public men have besides politics, their private affairs to attend to, and our ordinary citizens, though occupied with the pursuits of industry, are still fair judges of public matters; for, unlike any other nation, regarding him who takes no part in these duties not as unambitious but as useless, we Athenians are able to judge at all events if we cannot originate, and instead of looking on discussion as a stumbling block in the way of action, we think it an indispensable preliminary to a wise action.

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forces. There was also an assembly of all who served in the heavy infantry, called the *Ecclesia*. The power of the Assembly was to elect magistrates from the nobility. The citizen population was divided in two ways. There was a military hierarchy, and an economic division existed as well: the land lords, the urban middle class and the free smaller farmers.

Conflict of Classes. Unlike Sparta, Athenian class divisions were not stratified or static. Economic growth caused bitter conflict to flare up and out of this conflict of classes came the expansion of democracy. About 650 B.C. the oligarchy gave way to a timocracy. Both involved rule by the few, but where the oligarchs drew their power from birth and land the timocrats drew theirs from more generalized wealth. This shift in the base of political power was due to the conflicts generated by economic expansion. The wealth of the urban merchants increased while that of the smaller farmers and city artisans decreased. Small farmers were ruined by population growth which forced a redistribution of already small holdings by foreclosures on high interest mortgages, by ruinous competition from imports from the overseas colonies and by a shortage of coinage which deflated prices. Many were forced to become tenant farmers or serfs. Artisans found themselves squeezed between a rising cost of living and reduced wages caused by an increasing influx of slave labor.

Fearfully the landlords and merchants combined against a potential threat of revolt by ruined farmers and artisans. They divided the power of the *Acro-polis* and *Arechonte* between them: they re-arranged society into four economic classes and one of their number, Draco, drew up a written code of laws intended to enforce the *status quo* (the state in which things exist at the moment) by drastic penalties for infractions (hence the word "draconian" means unrelenting severity). The indirect effects of Draco's harsh code protecting property rights were progressive: primitive private feuds were abolished and the idea of a uniform written law permeated as Athens became more democratic. But the immediate occasion of Draco's Code was the effort on the part of a disaffected nobleman named Cylon to overthrow the timocracy and to establish himself as a tyrant or absolute dictator over Athens.

The Tyrannies. Cylon failed but he encouraged and inspired the nobles of Greece to help him and to encourage the advancement of the economic and political life of the state and deepened economic

discontent—to overthrow the existing government and to set up benevolent dictatorships. Athens was ripe for tyranny. Draco's Code had expressed economic protest, nor had the efforts of Solon (ca. 618-558 B.C.) a wise nobleman who had been invested with supreme power as an arbiter to solve the economic muddle.

Solon tried compromise economic reforms: he abolished enslavement as a penalty for debt; he cancelled existing mortgages on land to prevent further foreclosures; he introduced a system of coinage to reverse the deflation and intervened with state aid to stimulate manufacturing and trade. He then extended democracy by giving the poor class a vote in the Assembly, by creating popular law courts on which all citizens might serve by granting all citizens a voice in the election of magistrates and by forming a new group, the Council of 400 to discuss and prepare the business for the *Ecclesia*. But these economic and political reforms did not subdue the turmoil: three new factions appeared: the *Plains* or noble party, the *Hills* or party of the poor farmers, and the *Shore* or party of the merchants. In 594 B.C. a magistrate, a leader of the party of the *Hills*, seized the *Acropolis* and made himself the tyrant of Athens.

Benevolent Dictatorship. Pisistratus with the aid of foreign mercenaries maintained his dictatorship until his death (ca. 528 B.C.). During his rule, however, he made great strides in solving the economic crisis. By fostering the mining of silver he increased available currency and induced an inflation which spurred both trade and industry. He confiscated the large landed estates of the nobility and redistributed them among his followers from the *Hills*; he began an extensive public works program that not only solved the problem of the unemployed but also began the development of Athenian art and architecture. Through personal rule he inaugurated a large number of games and festivals at which athletes and poets competed and thus stimulated the literary art of the Athenians. But his absolute power did not place the freedom loving Athenians upon their death; a new struggle arose among the aristocrats led by *Cleisthenes* and the democrats led by *Cleisthenes* (who had the continued support of the *Hills* and the *Shore*).

Cleisthenes a Reformer. Cleisthenes sought to extend Athenian democracy. He realized that the aristocrats were not possible and the older nobles were not possible. He therefore encouraged the

new division of the Athenian citizenry into ten "tribes." The aristocratic Council of 400 was replaced by a Council of 500 made up of 50 delegates from each of the "tribes." Each tribe was expected to provide the army with a regiment and a general, thus the army was "democratized." A direct democracy was instituted: every citizen was expected to serve either in the Assembly which voted on the proposals of the Council of 500, declared war or made peace, voted appropriations, or elected archons, or to serve in the Council of 500 itself, the body which prepared legislation and administered all laws passed by the Assembly, or to serve on citizen juries, each consisting of 501 members (such as that which tried Socrates), which decided by secret ballot on cases brought before it, and of course, to serve in the army when called. To prevent the return of tyranny, Cleisthenes introduced the procedure of ostracism of those who threatened the peace or democracy of the state. Party strife was reduced, finally, by having all officers filled by lot. Athenian democracy had now reached a high point.

Pericles (500-c. 429 B.C.) This greatest statesman of antiquity who ruled Athens as a "political boss" for thirty years and who introduced the idea of payment for public services could say with justified pride

Our constitution does not copy the laws of neighboring states: we are rather a pattern to others than imitators ourselves. Its administration favors the many instead of the few, thus is why it is called a democracy. If we look to the laws, they afford equal justice to all in their private differences; if to social standing, advancement in public life falls to reputation for capacity; class considerations not being allowed to interfere with merit; nor again does poverty bar the way. Nor are these the only points in which our city is worthy of admiration. We cultivate refinement without extravagance and knowledge without effeminacy; wealth we employ more for use than for show, and place the real disgrace of poverty not in owning to the fact but in declining to struggle against it. Our public men have, besides politics, their private affairs to attend to, and our ordinary citizens, though occupied with the pursuits of industry, are still fair judges of public matters; for unlike any other nation, regarding him who takes no part in these duties not as unambitious but as useless, we Athenians are able to judge at all events if we cannot originate, and instead of looking on discussion as a stumbling block in the way of action, we think it an indispensable preliminary to a wise action. In short, I say that as a city we are the school of Hellas. (Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*)

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The Persians first landed at Marathon (490 B.C.) This direct threat to the independence of all the Greeks failed to unify them; the Athenian army was left to face the Persians alone. Under the military leadership of Miltiades and Callimachus the Persians were routed and driven into the sea. The results of this victory were immense: it showed that the Persians were not invincible; it delayed a second Persian attack for ten years; it began the Athenian leadership of Greece; it spelled the end of the tyranny as a form of government (for the Persians were fostering this form on the Ionian shore); it inspired the great classics of Aeschylus and Herodotus; it ensured that "western civilization" as opposed to "oriental civilization" would prevail in Europe. Of more immediate value, it forced the Greek cities to unite against the certainty of the second attack.

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Fearfully, the landlords and merchants combined against a potential threat of revolt by ruined farmers and artisans. They divided the power of the *Aeropo* and *Archonate* between them, they rearranged society into four economic classes, and one of their number, *DRACO* drew up a written code of laws intended to enforce the *status quo* (the state in which things exist at the moment) by drastic penalties for infractions (hence the word "draconian" means unusual severity). The indirect effects of *DRACO*'s harsh code protecting property rights were progressive: primitive private feuds were abolished, and the idea of a uniform, written law persisted as Athens became more democratic. But the immediate occasion of *DRACO*'s Code was the effort on the part of a disaffected nobleman named *Cylon* to overthrow the timocracy and to establish himself as a *tyrannos* or absolute dictator over Athens.

The Tyrannies *Cylon* failed, but between 650 and 500 B.C. throughout Greece such ambitious and aggressive men took advantage of timocratic misrule—political factionalism and deep-seated economic

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Solon tried compromise economic reforms: abolished enslavement as a penalty for debt default; he cancelled existing mortgages on land to prevent further foreclosures, he introduced a system of coinage to reverse the deflation, and intervened with state aid to stimulate manufacturing and trade. He then extended democracy by giving the poor class a vote in the Assembly, by creating popular law courts on which all citizens might serve, granting all citizens a voice in the election of magistrates, and by forming a new group, Council of 400 to discuss and prepare the business for the *Ecclesia*. But these economic and political reforms did not subdue the turmoil, three factions appeared: the "Plains" or noble party, the "Hills" or party of the poor farmers, and the "Shore" or party of the merchants. In 560 *PISTISTRATOS*, a leader of the party of the "Hills" seized the Acropolis and made himself the tyrant of Athens.

Benevolent Dictatorship *Pististratos*, with aid of foreign mercenaries maintained his dictatorship until his death (527 B.C.). During his one-man rule, however, he made great strides in solving the economic crisis. By fostering the mining of silver he increased available currency and induced inflation which spurred both trade and industry. He confiscated the large landed estates of nobility and redistributed them among his followers. From the "Hills" he began an extensive public works program that not only solved the problem of the unemployed but also began the creative period in Athenian art and architecture. To add prestige for his rule, he inaugurated a large number of games and festivals at which athletes and poets competed and thus stimulated the literary activity among the Athenians. But his absolute power did not please the freedom-loving Athenians, upon his death, a new struggle ensued among the aristocrats led by *ISOCRATES* and the democrats led by *Cleisthenes* (who had the combined support of the "Hills" and the "Shore").

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new division of the Athenian citizenry into ten "tribes." The aristocratic Council of 400 was replaced by a Council of 500 made up of 50 delegates from each of the "tribes." Each tribe was expected to provide the army with a regiment and a general, thus the army was 'democratized'. A direct democracy was instituted: every citizen was expected to serve either in the Assembly which voted on the proposals of the Council of 500, declared war or made peace, voted appropriations or elected archons, or to serve in the Council of 500 itself, the body which prepared legislation and administered all laws passed by the Assembly; or to serve on citizen juries, each consisting of 501 members (such as that which tried Socrates), which decided by secret ballot on cases brought before it, and, of course, to serve in the army when called. To prevent the return of tyranny, Cleisthenes introduced the procedure of ostracism of those who threatened the peace or democracy of the state. Party strife was reduced, finally, by having all offices filled by lot. Athenian democracy had now reached a high point.

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launched a huge public works program to restore all things Egyptian and then recruited thousands of Greek intellectuals and workmen to build for him a huge Greek city in Egypt itself, this city became Alexandria, the first cosmopolitan city in the world, a meeting place for peoples from all over the world.

Thus done, Alexander now returned to meet Darius who had regrouped and enlarged his armed forces until they far outnumbered Alexander's, at Arbela, in 331 B.C., Darius was defeated again. Though Darius escaped, he was murdered by his own men, Alexander then assumed for himself the Persian title of the "Great King." He took over Persia's capitals and its treasures, he assumed Oriental mannerisms and even his Macedonians had to now prostrate themselves before him. In pursuit of the murderers of Darius Alexander now pushed on to conquer Bactria and India but exhaustion had set in.

Alexander moved on to Babylon, where he contracted the swamp fever and died. He was thirty-three years old, but in his brief lifetime he had

changed the face of the world. Alexander's empire died with him. Ptolemy, a follower, seized Egypt and instituted a pharaonic rule. Seleucus took Syria and the lands of the Persian Empire, Greece degenerated into an internecine war between an Aetolian League and an Achæan League and Macedonia. The world awaited a new unifier and a new peace. In Italy one such was coming slowly to life and power.

Though chaos succeeded Alexander's efforts, what his conquest accomplished was incalculable. He broke down the barriers which had persisted for three millennia between Oriental and Occidental, out of the intermixture of cultures came a new, brilliant Hellenistic civilization, hieroglyphic and cuneiform fell to supremacy of the Greek tongue, release of the Persian treasures stimulated trade and commerce to new heights, trade lanes now began to extend from the Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic, new cities grew up and old ones were revitalized all along the trade lanes. He had decisively altered his world.

CHAPTER FIVE

GREEK CULTURE

THE GREEK IDEAL

When one examines Greek culture, one is struck by the persistence of certain ideals in Greek thought. Greek thought was humanistic, that is, it was centered on man not the gods. What characterized man, the Greeks felt, was his rationality and so Greek thinkers stressed the processes of reasoning and the uses of reason to modify or control instinct and will. Self-examination was vital to these ideals, the unexamined life was not worth living, said Socrates. An examined life revealed the need for order, proportion and restraint—nothing in excess. These cautions, however, were not intended to restrain the human urges for *arete*, or excellence; the final goal of intelligent living was to realize one's full potential, in body and in mind.

Greeks aimed at versatility. Greek education reflected these ideals. The best young men were therefore trained in many directions: physical training, health instruction and military science,

vocational preparation, chiefly the speech arts since the Greek citizen (in Athens) was expected to take a direct part in the shaping of civic policies, dancing for grace, rhetoric, philosophy and mathematics for sharpening the rational faculties.

GREEK RELIGION

There was no church among the Greeks, no creed nor articles of faith. Priests were public officers assigned to perform religious rites, not to proclaim and enforce official dogma. Yet religion lay at the core of the Greek way of life.

Like all ancient peoples the Greeks sought to live rationally in a potentially hostile universe, they wanted to know the causes of things and events in their environment so they could shape them to their needs. It seemed clear to the Greeks that natural events were determined by spiritual beings or gods. Zeus was the sky, Apollo the sun, Demeter, the earth, Poseidon, the sea. There were Nymphs in caves and fountains, Nereids in the

Persians as planned, at Salamis and wiped out the Persian fleet and army there. On the same day Persia's Carthaginian allies were routed. One year later at Plataea the Persians were defeated on land and driven out of Europe.

The Peloponnesian Wars (431-404 B.C.) The unity finally achieved in the war against the Persians did not last. Capitalizing upon her leadership Athens in 478 B.C. organized the **Delian League**, a confederacy of about 200 city states, then led by Themistocles and Aristides. Athens converted this League into an imperialist grab bag for herself. She intervened by occupation and threat of occupation in the internal affairs of the League members, she forced them to pay a tribute to Athens for 'protection', she dominated all their commercial activities. Athenian imperialism forced Sparta in alliance with Corinth to take steps against the possible loss of their own independence by strengthening the Peloponnesian League.

Thus matters stood when Pericles came to power in Athens. Democratic at home, Pericles pursued an aggressive imperialist policy abroad. He broke a long standing alliance with Sparta; he allied with the enemies of Sparta and Corinth (Argos, the landed nobility of Thessaly, Megara etc.), he helped a group of rebellious helots to colonize in Athenian territory, he began a policy to drive Corinthian trade out of the Aegean. Anticipating the reaction of the Spartans, Pericles completed the fortification of Athens by building the Long Walls connecting Athens with the port of Piraeus, a distance of four and a half miles.

These preparations were made none too soon for in 431 B.C. Sparta and her allies declared war on Athens. The war lasted 27 years. It was featured as Thucydides pointed out by calamities such as Hellas had never known.

After years of stalemate, the Athenians were defeated at Syracuse in the west (413 B.C.) and ultimately at Athens in 404 B.C. The results of the Peloponnesian wars were calamitous in the extreme: the great age of Athens ended, Spartan hegemony was destroyed by the city state of Thebes under the leadership of Epaminondas, war and confusion prepared the way for a new power rising in the north and readying itself to spring southward.

THE RISE OF MACEDONIA

Philip At the beginning of the fourth century B.C. Macedonia was a semi barbarian state on the northern fringe of Greece. **Philip** came to the Macedonian throne in 359 B.C. As a youth he had

been taken as a hostage to Grecian Thebes; there he learned to hold Greek culture in great reverence and to disdain Greek politics, which had deteriorated.

Philip it seems determined to save Greece from itself by a liberating Macedonian conquest. He would unite her under his single rule and spread her culture abroad. His policy of conquest was to be by devious political fracturing of whatever Greek unity existed and then by direct military assault. With this goal before him, he developed a powerful army and seized the gold mines of Grecian Amphipolis. When the opportunity presented itself he entered a 'sacred war' against Phocis on the side of ruling Thebes and thus netted him Greek citizenship and a place on the Amphictyonic Council.

At this time only one Greek saw through Philip's maneuvering—**Demosthenes** and in his "Philippics" he warned of conquest to come and urged unity—military and political—upon the Greek states. His passionate and eloquent words went unheard; even laughed at—Philip was such a cultured gentleman who lived so far away! With this advantage Philip defeated Olynthus and neutralized Athens herself. Against the advice of Demosthenes Athens permitted Macedonia to cooperate with her in a second 'sacred war' against Amphissa. In the course of this campaign Philip took over all of central Greece. Thoroughly alarmed Athens and Thebes permitted Demosthenes to organize a counter Macedonian Pan Hellenic League—which Philip crushed. He was now sole ruler in Greece. His policy toward the conquered Greeks was one of firm kindness. He even offered them an honored place in an expedition against the Persians that he was now planning. But in 336 B.C. he was murdered. His son Alexander succeeded.

Alexander the Great Alexander the Great was tutored by the great Greek philosopher Aristotle and no more thoughtful or superior ever existed. Better than most, Alexander knew and appreciated the glory of Greek culture. But he knew that no Greek was safe from barbarian conquest until Greece had conquered all the world. He brought all his genius for military tactics, propaganda and political strategy to bear upon the realization of this goal.

First Alexander crushed an uprising of Spartans in Greece itself then with half his army he went to meet the Persians in Asia Minor. He met them at Granicus in 334 B.C. and at Issus in 333 B.C. and routed them each time. Choosing not to pursue Darius, Alexander turned south and subdued the Phoenician coast, he then descended deeper into Egypt. Here his purpose was revealed fully for he

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launched a huge public works program to restore all things Egyptian and then recruited thousands of Greek intellectuals and workmen to build for him a huge Greek city in Egypt itself this city became Alexandria, the first cosmopolitan city in the world, a meeting place for peoples from all over the world.

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When one examines Greek culture one is struck by the persistence of certain ideals in Greek thought. Greek thought was humanistic, that is, it was centered on man, not the gods. What characterized man, the Greeks felt, was his rationality and so Greek thinkers stressed the processes of reasoning and the uses of reason to modify or control instinct and will. Self-examination was vital to these ideals, the unexamined life was not worth living, said Socrates. An examined life revealed the need for order, proportion and restraint—nothing in excess. These cautions, however, were not intended to restrain the human urges for *arete*, or excellence, the final goal of intelligent living was to realize one's full potential, in body and in mind.

Greeks aimed at versatility. Greek education reflected these ideals. The best young men were therefore trained in many directions: physical training, health instruction and military science,

vocational preparation, chiefly the speech arts since the Greek citizen (in Athens) was expected to take a direct part in the shaping of civic policies, dancing for grace, rhetoric, philosophy, and mathematics for sharpening the rational faculties.

GREEK RELIGION

There was no church among the Greeks, no creed nor articles of faith. Priests were public officers assigned to perform religious rites, not to proclaim and enforce official dogma. Yet religion lay at the core of the Greek way of life.

Like all ancient peoples the Greeks sought to live rationally in a potentially hostile universe; they wanted to know the causes of things and events in their environment so they could shape them to their needs. It seemed clear to the Greeks that natural events were determined by spiritual beings or gods. Zeus was the sky, Apollo, the sun, Demeter, the earth, Poseidon, the sea. There were Nymphs in caves and fountains, Nereids in the

Persians, as planned, at Salamis and wiped out the Persian fleet and army there. On the same day Persia's Carthaginian allies were routed. One year later, at Plataea, the Persians were defeated on land and driven out of Europe.

The Peloponnesian Wars (431-404 B.C.) The unity finally achieved in the war against the Persians did not last. Capitalizing upon her leadership, Athens, in 478 B.C., organized the **Delian League**, a confederacy of about 200 city-states, then, led by Themistocles and Aristides, Athens converted this League into an imperialist grab bag for herself. She intervened by occupation and threat of occupation in the internal affairs of the League members, she forced them to pay a tribute to Athens for "protection", she dominated all their commercial activities. Athenian imperialism forced Sparta, in alliance with Corinth, to take steps against the possible loss of their own independence by strengthening the Peloponnesian League.

Thus matters stood when Pericles came to power in Athens. Democratic at home, Pericles pursued an aggressive imperialist policy abroad. He broke a long-standing alliance with Sparta, he allied with the enemies of Sparta and Corinth (Argos, the landed nobility of Thessaly, Megara, etc.), he helped a group of rebellious helots to colonize in Athenian territory, he began a policy to drive Corinthian trade out of the Aegean. Anticipating the reaction of the Spartans, Pericles completed the fortification of Athens by building the Long Walls connecting Athens with the port of Piraeus, a distance of four and a half miles.

These preparations were made none too soon for in 431 B.C. Sparta and her allies declared war on Athens. The war lasted 27 years. It was featured as Thucydides pointed out, by "calamities such as Hellas had never known."

After years of stalemate, the Athenians were defeated at Syracuse in the west (413 B.C.) and ultimately at Athens in 404 B.C. The results of the Peloponnesian wars were calamitous in the extreme: the great age of Athens ended, Spartan hegemony was destroyed by the city-state of Thebes under the leadership of Epaminondas, war and confusion prepared the way for a new power rising in the north and readying itself to spring southward.

THE RISE OF MACEDONIA

Philip. At the beginning of the fourth century B.C. Macedonia was a semi-barbarian state on the northern fringe of Greece. Philip came to the Macedonian throne in 359 B.C. As a youth he had

been taken as a hostage to Grecian Thebes, there he learned to hold Greek culture in great reverence and to disdain Greek politics, which had deteriorated.

Philip, it seems, determined to save Greece from itself by a liberating Macedonian conquest. He would unite her under his single rule and spread her culture abroad. His policy of conquest was to be by devious political fracturing of whatever Greek unity existed and then by direct military assault. With this goal before him, he developed a powerful army and seized the gold mines of Grecian Amphipolis. When the opportunity presented itself he entered a "sacred war" against Phocia on the side of ruling Thebes and thus netted him Greek citizenship and a place on the Amphyctyonic Council.

At this time, only one Greek saw through Philip's maneuvering—**DEMOSTHENES**, and in his "Philippics" he warned of conquest to come and urged unity—military and political—upon the Greek city-states. His passionate and eloquent words went unheeded, even laughed at—Philip was such a cultured gentleman who lived so far away! With this advantage Philip defeated Olynthus and neutralized Athens herself. Against the advice of Demosthenes Athens permitted Macedonia to cooperate with her in a second "sacred war" against Amphissa. In the course of this campaign Philip took over all of central Greece. Thoroughly alarmed, Athens and Thebes permitted Demosthenes to organize a counter-Macedonian Pan-Hellenic League—which Philip crushed. He was now sole ruler in Greece. His policy toward the conquered Greeks was one of firm kindness. He even offered them an honored place in an expedition against the Persians that he was now planning. But in 336 B.C. he was murdered. His son Alexander succeeded.

Alexander ALEXANDER THE GREAT was tutored by the great Greek philosopher Aristotle, and no more thoughtful world conqueror ever existed. Better than most Alexander knew and appreciated the glory of Greek culture. But he knew that no Greek was safe from barbarian conquest until Greece had conquered all the world. He brought all his genius for military tactics, propaganda and political strategy to bear upon the realization of this goal.

First Alexander crushed an uprising of Spartans in Greece itself, then with half his army he went to meet the Persians in Asia Minor. He met them at Granicus in 334 B.C. and routed them. Each to his own. In 333 B.C. Darius Alexander's son was killed. The Persian Empire was reduced to Egypt. He

launched a huge public works program to restore all things Egyptian and then recruited thousands of Greek intellectuals and workmen to build for him a huge Greek city in Egypt itself, this city became Alexandria, the first cosmopolitan city in the world, a meeting place for peoples from all over the world.

Thus done Alexander now returned to meet Darius who had regrouped and enlarged his armed forces until they far outnumbered Alexander's, at Arbela, in 331 B.C., Darius was defeated again. Though Darius escaped he was murdered by his own men. Alexander then assumed for himself the Persian title of the "Great King." He took over Persia's capitals and its treasures, he assumed Oriental manners and even his Macedonians had to now prostrate themselves before him. In pursuit of the murderers of Darius Alexander now pushed on to conquer Bactria and India but exhaustion had set in.

Alexander moved on to Babylon, where he contracted the swamp fever and died. He was thirty-three years old, but in his brief lifetime he had

changed the face of the world. Alexander's empire died with him. Ptolemy, a follower, seized Egypt and instituted a pharaonic rule. Seleucus took Syria and the lands of the Persian Empire. Greece degenerated into an internecine war between an Aetolian League and an Achaean League and Macedonia. The world awaited a new unifier and a new peace. In Italy one such was coming slowly to life and power.

Though chaos succeeded Alexander's efforts, what his conquest accomplished was incalculable. He broke down the barriers which had persisted for three millennia between Oriental and Occidental, out of the intermixture of cultures came a new, brilliant Hellenistic civilization, hieroglyphic and cuneiform fell to superiority of the Greek tongue, release of the Persian treasures stimulated trade and commerce to new heights, trade lanes now began to extend from the Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic, new cities grew up and old ones were revitalized all along the trade lanes. He had decisively altered his world.

CHAPTER FIVE

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THE GREAT PHILOSOPHERS

PLATO (427-347 B.C.)

PLATO was the first of the philosophers to construct a complete philosophical system and to found a university for propagating his ideas. In his "Academy" men met to study mathematics, astronomy, logic and political science. Plato's most famous pupil was ARISTOTLE.

Reality. Plato rejected the world of change as a source of knowledge about the world. Information derived from man's sense organs is simply not stable enough to get accurate knowledge. At best it gives men opinions. For true knowledge you have to go behind the world of things to the form of things. These forms, capable of being defined in general terms, endure forever. For example, things may have a triangular shape, but they are never perfect triangles; however, the *idea of a triangle* as defined in geometry is real, permanent, indestructible and changeless.

Ideas or Forms. Ideas or forms cannot be seen; they are mental concepts. They are present in the mind but their existence does not depend on the mind. They have an independent life of their own. The things all about us can only hint as to the perfect nature of the idea or form of such things as courage, honesty, beauty, health-ness, color-ness, swiftness, mountain-ness, chair-ness, sameness and difference. These are the eternal essences of things. These are the models of what all things strive to become. The essence of all essences is the Good. It was the Good, in its creative aspect, which imparted truth, knowledge and existence to all the other ideas and forms. (This idea will not be so difficult to understand if we make a loose comparison of the idea of God, the Creator with Plato's The Good the Creator.)

Platonic Love. Plato felt that men aspire to be united with the eternal Ideas and that this aspiration was motivated by Love. Love begins as a profane attraction to earthly things, but it ends as Sacred Love, Love for the Good separated from all mundane objects. Those who rise to the love of the absolute and universal and can merge themselves with its timeless essence will have achieved immortality. Thus, there were two parts to man (dualism)—one that remained earthbound and one that could soar above the earth into the eternal.

Utopia. If the Good ruled the universe, Justice ruled over the affairs of men. Perfect justice was possible only in the perfect state. In his *Republic* Plato set out to construct the perfect state. There were three types of men: men of Appetite (those dominated by the flesh and its needs), men of Spirit (those dominated by the will and its demands), and men of Reason (those who used intelligence to control their appetites and spirits). In the perfect state the men of Appetite would become the obedient and working masses, men of Spirit would become the military defenders of the state, and men of Reason would become the Philosopher-Kings. Each had to be educated to his role in society.

Thus an intellectual elite with the aid of the military would rule over obedient masses, each keeping his place, and the ends of perfect justice would be served.

Knowledge. The perfect state evolved out of man's wisdom, the highest form of knowledge, which few men attained. Plato distinguished four stages of knowledge: random sensations shifting through the mind as imagining and guessing; opinions, more stable but still unreliable knowledge derived from the senses; understanding, the threshold to conceiving the Ideas; and wisdom or dialectic, complete grasp of the "real" world. Men lived, said Plato, as in a cave of flickering shadows (sense data) cast by the real images (Ideas) in the Sun (The Good) outside the Cave (of imprisonment in the world of illusion). Only a few could learn to look into the sun without being blinded. Plato could not deny that knowledge begins in the senses without finding another origin of knowledge. His argument was that knowledge of the Ideas is within us at birth. Then where did these Ideas come from?

Immortality. Ideas came from the soul of man which had existed before he was born. In being born, man forgot his origin. When a human being conceives an Idea, he is remembering what he once knew as an immortal soul now returned to earth. Logical reasoning convinced Plato that just as life turns to death, death turns to life. After each death there is a reincarnation of the soul which has continued to live after death. After many such reincarnations, Plato taught, the soul can be freed from any return to life.

Plato and the Idea of God. In his later doctrine the Supreme Good became for Plato the idea of God, the uncreated Creator, who brought a formless chaos into harmony with a group of perfect Ideas operating under the guidance of a World Soul. A

chain of being was then created ascending from the lowest level of pure matter to the highest of pure soul. The universe was then set in uniform, circular motion with the earth at dead center. Motion was the striving of each part in the ascending chain of being to achieve its next higher form. The Spirit of God—the Supreme Good—filters through the universe with its righteousness, its rationality, its orderliness.

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Change Change takes place when the potentiality in an object actualizes. In this process four "causes" are revealed: a material cause, or something to be changed; an efficient cause, or that which moves something to change; a formal cause, or that which determines the direction of the change; and a final cause, or the inner purposes drawing the object to its final goal. In this order of causes, the final is prior to the others: the oak tree is already in the acorn, what a thing is to become determines the order of the becoming. Thus every object contains an entelechy or a motive power to realize itself.

First Causes. Aristotle accepted the universe as uncreated and eternal, a brute fact, but something must have set it in motion. Logically, this first cause had to be an "unmoved mover," something imparting motion but not sharing it, something causing change but not itself changing. If this were so, the first cause also had to be pure actuality, something without any potentiality and therefore self-existing, self-sustaining and self-explanatory. Beneath the first cause the universe was arranged in a pyramidal form from unformed matter with unrealized potentialities to the human mind which has the least of unrealized potentiality in it. Physical bodies come alive, live physical bodies become conscious, conscious living bodies think and Thought is the nearest thing to Pure Actuality, form without matter.

Physics and Astronomy. According to Aristotle, physical bodies were composed of earth, water, air, fire and ether; these are the first actualizations of the potential. They are characterized by the occupation of space. Space is finite and spherical. Time is united to space by motion. Motion is of three kinds: rectilinear, circular and rectilinear-circular. Following rectilinear motion, earth and water move downward to a center; air and fire move upward to the circumference of the terrestrial sphere. Circular motion characterizes the ether; ether is therefore the substance of celestial bodies. Aristotle's astronomy was geocentric: celestial bodies moved in perfect circles around the earth. It was known, however, that some planets did not describe perfect circles; their motion was eccentric. To account for eccentric motions, Aristotle accepted the idea that the universe contains pockets of "crystalline spheres" or hollow containers within containers. Each sphere had two motions: its own oblique motion and that of its container. Any aberration from perfect circularity was accounted for by the oblique paths of the eccentrics. (It is important to describe these erroneous ideas so fully because they ruled the intellectual world for nearly two thousand years before they were overthrown by modern science.)

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Change. Change takes place when the potential in an object actualizes. In this process four causes are revealed: a material cause, or something to be changed, an efficient cause, or that which moves something to change, a formal cause, or that which determines the direction of the change and a final cause, or the inner purposes drawing the object to its final goal. In this order of causes, the final is prior to the others; the oak tree is already in the acorn, what a thing is to become determines the order of the becoming. Thus every object contains an entelechy or a motive power to realize itself.

First Causes. Aristotle accepted the universe as uncreated and eternal, a brute fact, but something must have set it in motion. Logically, this first cause had to be an "unmoved mover," something imparting motion but not sharing it, something causing change but not itself changing. If this were so, the first cause also had to be pure actuality, something without any potentiality and therefore self-existing, self-sustaining and self-explanatory. Beneath the first cause the universe was arranged in a pyramidal form from unformed matter with unrealized potentialities to the human mind which has the least of unrealized potentiality in it. Physical bodies come alive, live physical bodies become conscious, conscious living bodies think and Thought is the nearest thing to Pure Actuality, form without matter.

Physics and Astronomy. According to Aristotle, physical bodies were composed of earth, water, air, fire and ether; these are the first actualizations of the potential. They are characterized by the occupation of space. Space is finite and spherical. Time is united to space by motion. Motion is of three kinds: rectilinear, circular and rectilinear-circular. Following rectilinear motion, earth and water move downward to a center; air and fire move upward to the circumference of the terrestrial sphere. Circular motion characterizes the ether; ether is therefore the substance of celestial bodies. Aristotle's astronomy was geocentric; celestial bodies moved in perfect circles around the earth. It was known, however, that some planets did not describe perfect circles; their motion was eccentric. To account for eccentric motions, Aristotle accepted the idea that the universe contains pockets of "crystalline spheres" or hollow containers within containers. Each sphere had two motions: its own oblique motion and that of its container. Any aberration from perfect circularity was accounted for by the oblique paths of the eccentrics. (It is important to describe these erroneous ideas so fully because they ruled the intellectual world for nearly two thousand years before they were overthrown by modern science.)

Biology. Inorganic matter becomes organic.

... must without a body. The soul is not a physical substance, but the form which guides the body to realize its potentiality. Realization takes place on three levels: vegetative, sensitive and intelligent. Matter with a vegetative soul can penetrate, nutrition, reproduction, etc., with a sensitive

the rules of right living These truths are indistinguishable from those of his pupil, PLATO, who recorded them in his *Dialogues*

THE GREAT PHILOSOPHERS

PLATO (427-347 B.C.)

PLATO was the first of the philosophers to construct a complete philosophical system and to found a university for propagating his ideas. In his 'Academy' men met to study mathematics, astronomy, logic and political science Plato's most famous pupil was ARISTOTLE.

Reality. Plato rejected the world of change as a source of knowledge about the world Information derived from man's sense organs is simply not stable enough to get accurate knowledge At best it gives men opinions For true knowledge you have to go behind the world of things to the form of things These forms capable of being defined in general terms endure forever For example things may have a triangular shape but they are never perfect triangles, however, the *idea of a triangle* as defined in geometry is real, permanent, indestructible and changeless

Ideas or Forms Ideas or forms cannot be seen, they are mental concepts They are present in the mind but their existence does not depend on the mind They have an independent life of their own The things all about us can only hint as to the perfect nature of the idea or form of such things as courage, honesty, beauty, health, color, swiftness, mountain, chair, sameness and difference These are the eternal essences of things These are the models of what all things strive to become The essence of all essences is the Good. It was the Good in its creative aspect, which imparted truth, knowledge and existence to all the other ideas and forms (This idea will not be so difficult to understand if we make a loose comparison of the idea of God, the Creator with Plato's The Good the Creator)

Platonic Love Plato felt that men aspire to be united with the eternal Ideas and that this aspiration was motivated by Love Love begins as a profane attraction to earthly things, but it ends as Sacred Love, Love for the Good separated from all mundane objects Those who rise to the love of the absolute and universal and can merge themselves with its timeless essence will have achieved immortality Thus there were two parts to man (dualism)—one that remained earthbound and one that could soar above the earth into the eternal

Utopia If the Good ruled the universe, Justice ruled over the affairs of men Perfect justice was possible only in the perfect state In his *Republic*, Plato set out to construct the perfect state. There were three types of men: men of Appetite (those dominated by the flesh and its needs), men of Spirit (those dominated by the will and its demands), and men of Reason (those who used intelligence to control their appetites and spirits) In the perfect state the men of Appetite would become the obedient and working masses, men of Spirit would become the military defenders of the state, and men of Reason would become the Philosopher Kings. Each had to be educated to his role in society.

Thus an intellectual elite with the aid of the military would rule over obedient masses, each keeping his place, and the ends of perfect justice would be served.

Knowledge The perfect state evolved out of man's wisdom the highest form of knowledge, which few men attained Plato distinguished four stages of knowledge: random sensations shifting through the mind as imagining and guessing; opinions, more stable but still unreliable knowledge derived from the senses, understanding, the threshold to conceiving the Ideas, and wisdom or dialectic, complete grasp of the 'real world' Men lived said Plato as in a cave of flickering shadows (sense data) cast by the real image (Ideas) in the Sun (The Good) outside the Cave (of imprisonment in the world of illusion) Only a few could learn to look into the sun without being blinded. Plato could not deny that knowledge begins in the senses without finding another origin of knowledge. His argument was that knowledge of the Ideas is within us at birth Then where did these Ideas come from?

Immortality Ideas came from the soul of man which had existed before he was born In being born man forgot his reason When a human being conceives an Idea he is remembering what he once knew as an immortal soul now returned to earth. Logical reasoning convinced Plato that just as life turns to death death turns to life After each death there is a reincarnation of the soul which has continued to live after death After many such reincarnations Plato thought the soul can be freed from any return to life.

Plato and the Idea of God In his later doctrine the Supreme God became for Plato the idea of God the uncreated Creator who brought a formless chaotic matter into being with a group of perfect Ideas operating under the guidance of a World Soul A

chain of being was then created ascending from the lowest level of pure matter to the highest of pure soul. The universe was then set in uniform circular motion with the earth at dead center. Motion was the striving of each part in the ascending chain of being to achieve its next higher form. The Spirit of God—the Supreme Good—filters through the universe with its righteousness its rationality, its orderliness.

ARISTOTLE (384-321 B.C.)

ARISTOTLE was a pupil of Plato, like his teacher, he also founded a university. The Lyceum. Aristotle's genius was universal. His learning embraced all that was known in ancient Greece of physics, astronomy, biology, physiology, anatomy, natural history, psychology, political science, ethics, logic, rhetoric, art, theology and metaphysics. Plato's general outlook was idealistic, theistic and mystical. Aristotle's was analytical, scientific and objective.

Critique of Plato. Aristotle felt that Plato was wrong when he divorced the Ideas from objects known through the senses. For Aristotle, there was no disembodied idea—an abstraction could not have an independent existence.

Reality. Reality was in the particular individual and concrete substance; the universal was simply a convenient classification of a large number of particulars. (In other words, the Idea of an apple comes from seeing a large number of concrete apples.) Every object has two aspects: matter or that which makes it an object, and form or that which classifies it and distinguishes it from other objects. There is no matter without some form and no form without some matter, said Aristotle. Form and matter stand to each other as actuality and potentiality; each actuality has some new potentiality (e.g., earth becomes grass, becomes nourishment for cattle becomes milk, etc.).

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Biology. Inorganic matter becomes organic when it is infused with *pneuma* or breath and actualizes: soul. The soul, therefore, is the actualization of the body and could not exist without a body. The soul is not a physical substance, but the form which guides the body to realize its potentiality. Realization takes place on three levels: vegetative, sensitive and intelligent. Matter with a vegetative soul experiences nutrition, reproduction, etc., with a sen-

tive soul, feeling and perception, with an intelligent soul, thought

Psychology. The purpose of sensation, Aristotle reasoned, was to actualize in the mind the qualities in the objects outside, hence sensation was not just the receiving of impressions but an active process in which the sense organs participated. Touch was the basic sense and gave to objects their material properties. Sight was next in order of importance, hearing, however, was more vital than sight for thinking. Perception was achieved through a medium—hearing through air, seeing through luminosity, smelling through moisture. Aristotle now assumed that there was a “common sense” which brought together all these messages from the outside so that an object could be presented to the mind, this common sense resided in the heart. Out of the sensitivities of the soul, desire is actualized, out of desire, pleasure and pain, out of pleasure and pain, motivation, and out of motivation behavior. All behavior is purposeful, pursuing predetermined ends.

The Rational Soul. The intelligent soul has the faculty of reason. Reason can abstract from things their forms. It operates by judgment or thought. Thought is without matter, its potentialities are all within itself, it cannot change, it can only be absent or present, it is therefore one with what it thinks. How does one think a truthful thought (for thought can often fall into error)? Aristotle now postulated the existence in the universe of an Active Reason. When the Active Reason enters the mind it illuminates it with a sudden insight into the truth. Man's brief encounter with the Active Reason is all that he enjoys of immortality.

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EXAMPLES OF THE GOLDEN MEAN

EXCESS	MEAN	INHIBITION
rashness	courage	cowardice
self indulgence	temperance	insensibility
prodigality	liberality	stinginess
ostentation	magnificence	niggardliness
vulgarity	greatness of soul	humility

The moral quality of an act is determined by the intention behind it. Intention involves a preference and results in choice. Our choices should conform with the ends natural to man as a species. In so doing we bear the moral consequences of our own acts. Morality is conduct illuminated by intelligence.

The State. In his *Politics* Aristotle examined the actualization of the social potential in the form of the state. He attacked Plato's Utopia—its rigidity, frozen classes, communization of property, women and children. Public interest, he said, is best served by private interest and private interest flourishes best where the individual is free to move. The good state is the one that serves the common interest with greatest justice. The best forms of government are kingship, aristocracy or constitutional democracy. The rulers are enlightened and benevolent.

and rule is interestedly in the interest of all. Disinterested rule is rule by law, under law, the happiness of all takes precedence over the happiness of the few.

Rhetoric. In the ideal state all citizens will be politicians. They therefore should master the art of oratory. Aristotle worked out the rules for successful oratory. It should be directed to the emotions and prejudices of the audience. These are best aroused by careful argument of moral maxims to create the impression that the orator is a man of wisdom. An orator should state his case and prove it and the best proof is to discredit your opponent.

Esthetics. In his *Poetics* Aristotle examined the role of the fine arts in the ideal state. Art, he said, is an imitation of nature. Men respond to art because an act of imitation stimulates their senses and intellect—even if it is a painful subject. The purpose of art is not moral but esthetic. It seeks to give pleasure by stirring the emotions or making us think it is, above all, recreational. The greatest of the art forms is Tragedy which shows human character and conduct in its most universal aspect which makes use of the ancillary arts of song, dance and choral recital which arouses pity and fear but purges these of their terror. Great tragedy follows, where possible, the three unities of plot, time and place. It tells a complete story and limits it to one day and one setting—where possible.

It has the effect upon the viewer of witnessing the story of men and women surrounded by a fickle, furtive destiny and brought to the depths of unhappiness by the uncertainties of human life. Aristotle argued that the audience experiences pity

for himself with universal tragedy and by this means makes his own personal tragedy smaller. The end product is pleasure induced by a release of emotional tension.

Finally, what makes the tragic hero? He is a person of high rank enjoying good fortune. He has some flaw in his character suffering follows down fall is sudden and produced by something unforeseen but out of the misery and the downfall there comes an increase in knowledge, a deeper appreciation of human limitations and human possibilities.

LITERATURE

Greek literature began with poetry and the earliest of the poems were the two great epics of

Homer, the recital of the deeds of heroic men engaged in heroic actions. As Greek civilization matured, however, a more subjective, romantic and passionate note appeared in Greek verse—the lyric and elegiac were born. Poets now sang of love, war, sorrow, ennui; they composed marriage songs, choral odes and political and personal verses. As reflection matured, there arose the gnomic verse, that is, verse which recited maxims and precepts.

propagated

Greek Tragedy. Greek literature achieved its greatest height in the drama, particularly in the tragic drama. Drama evolved from religious ceremonial in honor of Dionysus, beginning probably as a chorus of men dressed as gods or saints singing dithyrambs and dancing dances (ca. 550 B.C.) introduced a speaker who addressed the chorus and thus began the dramatic dialogue. Tradition has accumulated about the dramatic process; that they were written for prizes, they were produced in groups of three (trilogies) or four (tetralogies), they used simple scenery, usually a temporary stage, actors wore masks, they were produced in amphitheaters, they employed machines to lift actors above and lower them onto the stage, etc.

Tragedies had a five-part structure: a prologue, a parados or entrance song of the chorus, episodes, stasima or choral songs following each episode, and an exodus or finale. Tragedies were based on mythological or heroic characters. The story was well known beforehand to the audience; they were chiefly interested in the dramatist's treatment of the known. Most of the action was performed off stage. The chief devices for creating and releasing tension were foreshadowing, oracular utterance and *deus ex machina*—a god brought by a machine over the stage who resolved the conflict. Characterization was stressed. Poetic meters were severe and stately.

Aeschylus (525-456 B.C.) Arsenius was the first of the great tragic dramatists (*The Suppliants*, *The Persians*, *The Seven Against Thebes*, *Prometheus Bound* and the *Oresteia*—A Trilogy). Aeschylus added a second actor to the Thespian form, reduced the numbers of the chorus, increased the spoken dialogue and originated the trilogy. His plays were concerned with the nature of the gods, the problem of evil, human responsibility and patriotism. In seeking to bring some moral order out of the chaos of private revenge, he stressed the omnipotence of the gods, their justice, the need for men to submit to divine decree by making re-

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zonal were brought into balance monotony was eliminated by judicious decoration design and sculpture space was enclosed and humanized by intervals, repeated patterns spacial progressions, and suggestions of distance everywhere there was proportion reserve restraint and order

Sculpture Sculpture was independent or ornamental-free-standing or high or low relief carved in marble or cast in bronze painted or natural Earliest or Archaic sculpture bore resemblance to the Egyptian rigid figure frontally disposed clenched fists close to the body, one foot advanced "archaic smiles"—more like grimaces. Female figures were heavily even puntingally draped Gradually the Archaic limitations dissolved and in the classical period under the leadership of Polykleitos, Myron and Phidias sculptured figures stressed abstract beauty of form philosophical detachment, anatomical perfection arrested movement, perfect balance, etc. During the fourth century B.C. sculptured figures became more relaxed portraiture was less idealized grace replaced strength nudes made their appearance human themes were exploited Praxiteles and Lysippos were the giants of this period In the Hellenistic Period restraint gave way to emotionalism, formal canons to eclecticism (a mixture of styles) heroic themes to tales from the streets, Greek types to exotic types, more acceptance of suffering in portrayal of the agony of suffering

Music. Greek music was the handmaiden to all the other arts It served to evoke moods and for each mood there seems to have been a musical mode flute and bell case—the Dorian Mode majestic the Hypodorian painful—the Mixolydian, agitated the Phrygian noble—the Hypophrygian mournful—the Lydian voluptuous—the Hypolydian etc Vocal music was stressed over the instrumental Music was basically melody and rhythm harmony was not known. Music followed the metric rules of poetry rather than its own and without its own rules variety was achieved chiefly through a wide collection of tones.

HISTORY

Awareness of the past as it shaped the present characterized all Greek thought out of this awareness the sciences of HERODOTUS it was a poor tell the story of the Greeks from their origins in the Persian Wars But his work had more of epic

in it than history It was uncritical used hearsay and legend accepted supernatural causation, was anecdotal and moralistic romantic and imaginative - - and credulous. Nonetheless it gave a detailed

Of far greater significance to the history of Greece was the work of THUCYDIDES (470-394 B.C.) *The History of the Peloponnesian War* Thucydides viewpoint was materialistic, he rejected intervention by the gods he sought for the causes of human events in human character He believed in the doctrine that history repeats itself He tells his story coldly carefully and bases most of it upon available sources. Bias is unregularly absent

(434-355 B.C.) military retreat in *The Archonts* an historical "novel" in *The Cyropaedia* and a series of memoirs of Socrates Xenophon was pro-Xenophon pro-Spartan and pro-Persian He was uncritical but he too told a good tale by a careful marshalling of facts

PHYSICAL SCIENCE AND MATHEMATICS

The Greeks achieved only moderate success in science because they preferred intuitive reasoning to experiment and exact measurement As far as it was possible to advance intuitively they did so Thus they began the study of matter, formulated the principle of cause and effect, suggested the basic principles of the evolution of nature and the atomic division of matter discovered the splendors of the earth and the possibility of its movement around the sun noted the properties of magnetism stated the law of the conservation of matter, classified aberrations in the movements of the planets identified animal species and noted that there were correlations in the structures, that organs seemed to adapture that the embryo goes through well defined stages named and classified numerous species of plants In medicine HIPPOCRATES (460-377 B.C.) grounded a theory of health and disease in a physical (not demonological) system of humors—the melancholic sanguineous, choleric and phlegmatic—any imbalance of which caused disease He made a careful note of the symptoms and the course of many diseases and based his therapy upon "natural" cures (sunshine rest nutrition etc.)

Since mathematics responded more to intuitive investigation Greek achievement in this field of science was immense THALES and PYTHAGORAS

sponsible choices. He pointed out that when men sin—through pride or murder—they must expiate their sins through suffering, but suffering is worthwhile if it brings wisdom in its train.

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GREEK ART

Greek art was to a great extent a projection in stone and clay of Greek religious and philosophical thought. For example, the influence of the Greek

zonal were brought into balance, monotony was eliminated by judicious decoration, design and sculpture, space was enclosed and humanized by intervals repeated patterns, spacial progressions, and suggestions of distance, everywhere there was proportion, reserve, restraint and order

Sculpture Sculpture was independent or ornamental—free-standing or high or low relief, carved in marble or cast in bronze painted or natural Earliest or Archaic sculpture bore resemblance to the Egyptian rigid figure frontally disposed, clenched fists close to the body, one foot advanced, "archaic smiles"—more like grimaces Female figures were heavily even puntanically, draped Gradually the Archaic limitations dissolved and in the classical period under the leadership of Polykleitos, Myron and Phidias sculptured figures stressed abstract beauty of form, philosophical detachment, anatomical perfection, arrested movement, perfect balance etc. During the fourth century B.C. sculptured figures became more relaxed, portraiture was less idealized grace replaced strength nudes made their appearance, human themes were exploited Praxiteles and Lysippos were the giants of this period. In the Hellenistic Period restraint gave way to emotionalism, formal canons to eclecticism (a mixture of styles) heroic themes to tales from the streets, Greek types to exotic types, stoic acceptance of suffering to portrayal of the agony of dying

Music Greek music was the handmaiden to all the other arts It served to evoke moods and for each mood there seems to have been a musical mode—vibrant and balustrade—the Dorian Mode, majestic—the Hypodorian; pious—the Mixolydian, agitated—the Phrygian, nimble—the Hypophrygian, mournful—the Lydian, voluptuous—the Hypolydian, etc. Vocal music was stressed over the instrumental Music was basically melody and rhythm harmony was not known Music followed the metric rules of poetry rather than its own and without its own rules variety was achieved chiefly through a wide collection of tones.

HISTORY

Awareness of the past as it shaped the present characterized all Greek thought out of this awareness the science of history was born. In the hands of Herodotus (484-425 B.C.) "*Father of History*," it was a poor science. Herodotus's History proposed to tell the story of the Greeks from their origins to the Persian Wars But his work had more of epic

in it than history It was uncritical, used hearsay and legend, accepted supernatural causation, was anecdotal and moralistic romantic and imaginative, naive and credulous. Nonetheless it gave a detailed

ence was the work of Thucydides (470-400 B.C.) *The History of the Peloponnesian War* Thucydides's viewpoint was rationalistic, he rejected intervention by the gods, he sought for the causes of human events in human character He believed in the doctrine that 'history repairs itself' He tells his story coldly, carefully, and bases most of it upon available sources. Bias is singularly absent from his account

This was hardly so with Xenophon (430-355 B.C.) who left an interesting history of a military retreat in *The Anabasis*, an historical novel in *The Cyropaedia* and a series of memoirs of Socrates. Xenophon was pro-Xenophon, pro-Spartan and pro-Persian He was uncritical but he, too, told a good tale by a careful marshalling of facts.

PHYSICAL SCIENCE AND MATHEMATICS

The Greeks achieved only moderate success in science because they preferred intuitive reasoning to experiment and exact measurement As far as it was possible to advance intuitively, they did so Thus they began the study of matter, formulated the principle of cause and effect, suggested the basic principles of the evolution of nature and the atomic division of matter, discovered the shape of the earth and the possibility of its movement around the sun, noted the properties of magnets, stated the law of the conservation of matter, classified aberrations in the movements of the planets, identified animal species and noted that there were correlations in the structures, that organisms adapt to their environment, that the embryo goes through various stages, named and classified numerous species of plants. In medicine Hippocrates (460-377 B.C.) grounded a theory of health and disease in physical (not demagogical) system of "humors"—the melancholic, sanguineous, choleric and phlegmatic—any imbalance of which caused disease made a careful note of the symptoms and the course of many diseases and based his therapy on "natural" cures (sunbath, rest, nutrition etc.)

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important discoveries in geography, physics, astronomy and engineering. By means of geometry Eratosthenes measured the earth and derived remarkably accurate results. Posidonius theorized that tides were caused by the pull of sun and moon. Archytus founded the science of mechanics and Archimedes brought static mechanics, hydrostatics, the principle of equilibrium of weights of the center of gravity, of the pulley, wedge, lever and screw, of floating bodies (specific gravity) to considerable heights. Hero a remarkable engineering genius produced for example siphons, fountains, water clocks, jet propulsion and air pumps. Greek astronomy was unfortunately tied to the geocentric notions of Aristotle. Within this limitation however geniuses like PTOLMEY were able to apply geometry to celestial movements with exceptional predictive accuracy using the concept of epicycles to explain aberrations.

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CHAPTER SIX

ROME

THE BASES OF ROMAN CIVILIZATION

Geography. The mountains of Italy were not obstacles to political unification as were those of Greece while precipitous they terminated in the broad plains of Latium—large and fertile areas capable of intensive cultivation. The Apennines however forced the Romans to face westward away from the civilizations of the eastern Mediterranean and thus gave the Romans the isolation they needed for independent development. Italy's peninsular form made it inevitable that when able the Romans would concentrate upon domination of the Mediterranean Sea. The open land areas, the easy invasion of Italy from northern lands and surrounding seas, forced the Romans on the defensive from their earliest days. Militarism became synonymous with survival. Finally the situation of Rome itself atop seven hills commanding the Tiber River gave her a powerful position on the peninsula.

People. The original Italian peoples are lost in the mists of the past. When the Romans emerged

they were a linguistic, cultural and racial mixture of Samnites, Umbrians, Latins, Gauls, Greeks and Etruscans. Greek influence was particularly strong but most profound was that of the Etruscans, an Oriental people whose high civilization was absorbed by the Romans. The earliest Romans were subject for many years to the overlordship of these Etruscans. Etruscan practices of many kinds seeped into Roman life and remained long after the Etruscans themselves had vanished.

Political Institutions. Because they began as a conquered people under absolute monarchy, the Romans created political institutions to defend themselves from the exercise of arbitrary power. When they became a free people, they placed supreme power in the hands of two political bodies—the Assembly and the Senate. The Assembly included all male citizens of military age. It was basically a ratifying body and as such had an absolute veto on executive decrees in matters of war, peace and justice. The Senate was a council of elders whose membership derived from tradi-

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like mountaineers who were threatening Rome's fertile lands in Campania. A victory over the Samnites had the effect of stirring Rome's allies in the Latin League to attack her, she was becoming too big and powerful for the security of other Italian states on the peninsula. But Rome defeated their combined effort. The Latin League was dissolved, its cities were isolated by separate treaties, some were made colonies, others were given a suffrageless Roman citizenship.

Rome became the capital of all Latium and the protector of all under her dominion. Colonies of Roman citizens were settled within the conquered territories to relieve the pressure of the landless upon Rome's land. The Samnites, defeated but not conquered, now (327 B.C.) attempted to organize all of the conquered people into a federation for independence. To meet this new threat, Appius Claudius made further reforms in the army, built a navy, broadened the base for both military and tax levies and constructed the first of the great Roman military highways (The Appian Way). The result was the complete defeat of the Samnites and their allies at the Battle of Sentium (296 B.C.). All Italy was within the grasp of the Romans.

The Conquest of Italy. The remainder of Italy was taken in the third century B.C. This was southern Italy where Greek cities predominated. When war between the Greek cities and Rome threatened the city of Tarentum called upon King Pyrrhus of Epirus (in Greece) for aid. Pyrrhus responded and at Heraclea (280 B.C.) won a bitter and costly victory—hence the phrase 'Pyrrhic victory.' Pyrrhus's advantage came from the use of terror spreading elephant cavalry. Rome now allied with her powerful North African neighbor, Carthage, in a defensive alliance against Pyrrhus. By 275 B.C. Pyrrhus was forced to leave Italy, and Tarentum fell, all of southern Italy now succumbed. Rome occupied Italy from the toe to the Po River.

Why Rome Conquered. Many reasons are given for Rome's success. Her enemies were disunited and Rome's policy of divide and rule was effective. Rome's allies were weakened by continual wars with Rome's enemies, Roman statesmen kept internal strife at a minimum by generous land grants, liberal division of the spoils of war and extension of democratic rights. Rome's victims were forced to place their armies at her disposal. Highway trunklines were built with each new conquest, colonies and garrisons were placed at all strategic outposts, bilateral treaties militated against new combinations against Rome.

Most important, however, was the use made of Roman citizenship.

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The Italian Allies were Roman protectorates, they sent troop levies to Rome, levies that were supported at Roman expense and shared in the war booty.

Though the bulk of the Italians thus lost their independence, were bound to do Roman military service and had to pay numerous special taxes to their Roman rulers, Roman rule brought them many advantages: a *pax Romana* (Roman peace), an end to intertribal warfare, defense against external aggression, partial freedom and the possibility of full citizenship, economic unity, the use of Roman public works (aqueducts, roads, bridges, etc.) and a share in the new prestige that Rome had won for Italy.

Effects on Rome—Military, Economic, Cultural. The Roman army took on permanent form. It was a paid, national militia based on universal conscription of all property holders for service at home or abroad. The military unit was the phalanx of heavy and light infantry, the sub unit was the centurionate (100 men). During the fourth century a more flexible form of legion (4000 infantry) was adopted. It was divided into 120 maniples for maneuverability. Larger units of cavalry were added and by the middle of the fourth century the Romans had a navy as well.

The Italian conquest extended the importance of agriculture in Rome's economy, since large tracts of arable soil were added to her holdings. Labor power for these expanded estates was provided by the slaves who were taken as war-prisoners from the conquered people. New techniques of farming were borrowed and applied (particularly in wine and olive production). War profits increased the demand for foreign luxury goods, trade expanded and with trade there came a money economy. Trade brought the trader—a new class of rich men that began to press for a larger share in government.

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POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

The Aristocratic Republic. It was the patricians who made the revolution of 509 B.C. that resulted in the overthrow of the Etruscan monarchy. The government they designed to replace the monarchy was republican in form and aristocratic in substance. Absolutism was abolished by creating two executive heads the Consuls, each elected annually. Each had the absolute veto over the acts of the other both were charged with judicial financial and military duties and for these purposes were equipped with the necessary police powers. In time of crisis a dictator with unlimited authority might be appointed for six months or for the duration of the crisis.

The Senate consisted of 300 aristocrats appointed by the consuls. Consular legislation was laid before the Senate for its recommendation only, only the Assembly could pass on legislation. However Senatorial ratification was required before a bill could become a law. The Centuriate was an assembly of citizens organized by hundreds and divided according to military rank and wealth. It could not initiate laws, but could pass on them. Vote rigging gave the aristocrats control in the Centuriate and the result was that the plebeians, who served in the military paid taxes and were represented, had no voice at all in the governing of Rome. This led to a perpetual "struggle of the Orders"—patrician versus plebeian for political power.

The Development of Roman Democracy. With each extension of political power to the plebeians, Rome became more democratic. The succession of laws which accomplished this were as follows:

- 509 B.C. The Valerian Law This was the *habeas corpus* act of ancient Rome for it permitted plebeians to appeal death sentences by the consuls delivered in peace time to the Centuriate Assembly.
- 494 B.C. The Tribune. Two tribunes were to be elected annually to protect plebeian rights, they were given police powers and an ab-

solute veto over legislation or executive decrees harmful to the plebs.

- 494 B.C. The Italian Law This made the persons of the tribunes inviolate.
- 471 B.C. The Publilian Law This created a new assembly—the *comitia tributa* for plebs only. It could not pass law but could vote *plebiscites* or recommendations for laws to the Senate and Centuriate. The fight now became to secure legal validity for the plebs' act.
- 449 B.C. The Valerio-Horatian Law This law provided for the Twelve Tables, a codification of existing criminal and civil law which were now written down.

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- 447 B.C. Consular aides were to be elected by the *comitia tributa* and not appointed by the consuls.
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- 356 B.C. The office of dictator was opened to the plebs.
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There were, however, other forces pushing the Romans into foreign adventures. Their foreign trade was extensive and freedom of the Mediterranean was vital to their national needs. Maintenance of a large standing army required continuous

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Latin translations of Greek works began to spread through Italy. Greek gods were adopted and given Roman citizenship. Hellenistic philosophies began to capture the imagination of the intellectuals and to undermine the traditional beliefs.

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- 287 B.C. The *Lex Hortensia*. This law gave legal validity to the *plebiscites* of the *comitia tributa*, ratification by Senate or the Centuriate Assembly was not required.

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forces pushing the Romans toward the Mediterranean. Their foreign policy was dictated by the needs of the Mediterranean world.

quest cases were few. But temptation was large since both judges and governors were drawn from the same class of people and had only a short time to reap any rewards from office. Not many wealthy making opportunities existed in Italy itself.

Rome's economic foundation was agricultural and in the export trade the balance of trade was against Rome. The wealth of some Romans was of course enormous booty (theft) and tribute (extortion) created a class of new rich—the equestrians or knights. It was they who handled the tax contracts and the contracts for public works in the provinces. And it was they who finally corrupted the governors and magistrates there with bribes for shutting their eyes to fraudulent tax collection. Over taxation forced large numbers of conquered peoples into debt from which they were then rescued by money lenders at fearful rates of interest. When the Roman Senate threatened investigation and exposure they too were bribed. Corruption thus worked its slow poison into the blood stream of Roman society.

Imperial booty flowed into the hands of the Senators. But they were forbidden to contaminate themselves with business ventures. Therefore they invested their booty in land, which was to a great extent purchased from small farmers who had been ruined by the Punic Wars. Senatorial latifundia (large estates) were worked up, slave labor. The displaced yeomen drifted to the big city as unemployed workers. Most were citizens and could vote. They were therefore a potential menace to the ruling oligarchs—unless their votes could be bought. Herein was the origin of bread and circuses, that is, public distribution of free food and public presentation of free spectacles—to distract the hungry and bored workers from more violent amusements. Roman workers did not want bread and circuses; they wanted land and they began to demand that the latifundia be broken up and redistributed.

LAND REFORM

The Gracchi Brothers

As a tempted reform lay these conditions: the increasing corruption and land monopoly of the ruling group, the increase in slaves and their increased restiveness as reflected in numerous uprisings, the struggle of Rome's allies to secure Roman franchise, the decrease in the number of freemen eligible for military service.

Seeking mainly to reform the army, Tiberius proposed a land division which would result in an increase in the number of peasantry eligible for army service. The comitia tributa passed a law confiscating all land above a fixed amount and distributing the surplus among the landless. Two warning camps appeared—the rich and the poor. The power of the rich was in the Senate and the Senate vetoed the Gracchan reform. When the king of Pergamum willed his country to Rome, Tiberius seized it on behalf of the comitia tributa, although custom dictated that it was the Senate's privilege to dispose of such bequests. When Tiberius now also came out with the proposals to reduce army service, reform the jury system, and make it easier for the allies to get the vote, the Senate accused him of seeking to establish a tyranny and had him murdered.

Tiberius's brother Gaius became tribune in 123 B.C. Bravely he proposed an even more extensive reform. He first sought to convert Rome into a democracy by transferring from the Senate to the Assembly all important business. Land confiscation and redistribution was continued with this addition—the provincial as well as Italian estates were to be taken. Plans were drawn up to establish Roman colonies far and wide through the provinces. Franchise was to be given to both the Latin and Italian allies. A number of reforms for the army were drawn up, juries were to be opened to other groups as well as the Senators and, finally, a grain law was passed providing that the state could sell corn to citizens below the market price.

Senatorial opposition to these reforms was violent by demagogues and playing upon popular superstition they turned the Roman populace against Gaius. He fled, and when he was overtaken, he committed suicide.

The heritage left by the Gracchi Brothers to Rome was a wide cleft between the Optimates (rich) and the Populares (poor) that brought the Roman Republic to its eventual destruction and ushered in the period of Roman absolutism—Caesarism.

THE REPUBLIC DESTROYED

Civil War The Optimates and Populares sought military support for their programs. Marius, a military conqueror who took up the cause of the Populares was chosen consul for three years in succession. He divorced army recruitment from landholding and enrolled large numbers of the

sources of booty for soldiers and taxes for the state. Population growth brought pressure for new lands. Increased use of metal for armaments required new mineral resources, and increased ownership of large landed estates required additional supplies of slaves. Such, then, were the underlying factors that drove Rome into the Punic Wars (265-221 B.C.).

The Punic Wars. Carthage, located in North Africa directly across the sea to the south of Sicily, was viewed by the Romans as a threat to their security. For one thing Carthage had made the Mediterranean into a "closed sea." Its powerful navy patrolled the waters, its navigation acts, trade restrictions, customs duties made competitive trade almost impossible. For another, Carthage ruled an empire that extended into Italy. She had founded cities and trading posts all along the coast of North Africa from Libya to Gibraltar and in the Mediterranean islands—notably Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica. With her vast wealth Carthage was able to hire fighting mercenaries to defend her position. Moreover, when the Romans conquered Southern Italy, Carthage dropped her friendly policy toward Rome. When Carthage moved to take over enough of Italy to control the strategic Straits of Messina, Rome was ready to take up the challenge.

In the First Punic War (264-251 B.C.) Rome aimed to secure control of Sicily. With Greek aid Rome crossed over the Straits of Messina into Sicily and defeated the Carthaginians in major battles. Hastily constructing a fleet the Romans were able to hold off Carthage long enough to seize Sardinia and Corsica. An attempted attack on Carthage itself failed, but in western Sicily the Romans were successful. At this time (251 B.C.) a Carthaginian fleet was destroyed. Carthage sued for peace, Rome accepted. Sicily was turned over to Rome and became her first imperialist conquest.

Carthage did not accept her defeat gracefully. Under the leadership first of HANNIBAL and then after 221 B.C. of HANNIBAL a military base was created in Spain. Rome was helpless to prevent Hannibal's advance to the Pyrenees for she was bitterly engaged in defensive wars with the Gauls on land and the Illyrian (Greek) pirates on sea. In order to protect his rear in the Spanish advance Hannibal was forced to attack a Roman city (Saguntum). Rome promptly declared war but was equally promptly faced with a Carthaginian invasion from the north for Hannibal had pushed over the Alps to descend on Rome. En route he had picked up the Gauls as allies. Reinforcements from Carthage

were due in southern Italy to complete the encirclement. Hannibal's hopes rose high as a result of victories on the Ticinus, on the Trebia, at Lake Trasimene and at Cannae (216 B.C.). Moreover, Macedonia, sensing the kill moved in to threaten Rome on the east. Some of Rome's allies began to desert.

But the Latin Allies held firm. Every Roman-freeman and slave—was drafted for military service. Under QUINTUS FABIUS the Roman army refused open battle and waged hit and run warfare. Meanwhile the Roman, SCIPIO AFRICANUS moved into Spain and crushed Hannibal's rear support Philip V of Macedonia was stymied by a Roman inspired Greek coalition against him, Sicily too was neutralized. Now the Romans sprang the trap that Hannibal had built for himself. Offensives forced Hannibal to the coast. Scipio landed in North Africa for an assault on Carthage. Hannibal was recalled to defend his homeland. At the Battle of Zama (202 B.C.), however, the Carthaginians were destroyed.

Carthage was reduced to a small African dependency. Under the insistent demands of CATO THE ELDER, who made famous the slogan—"Carthago Delenda Est" (Carthage must be destroyed)—Rome was maneuvered into taking a final step against Carthage in 146 B.C. For no apparent reason but revenge, Carthage was razed. She disappeared from history after this most unnecessary of Punic Wars.

Illyrian piracy and Macedonian aid to Carthage convinced the Romans that there could be no peace until Greece, too, became a Roman province. Aided by the Achaean and Aetolian Leagues Rome advanced against Macedonia and defeated her (200-197 B.C.). This was followed by the defeat of Antiochus III King of Seleucus in Asia Minor. Rome's imperium now extended from Spain to Asia Minor. Her empire was vast, but her problems of empire were vast.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF EMPIRE

Conquered territories were divided into provinces ruled by governors appointed in Rome for one year terms. Governors ruled by army enforced decree. They were aided by magistrates sent from Rome. Conquered peoples all had to pay extraordinary taxes to Rome. The collection of these taxes was turned over to private tax contractors (the publicans) who were permitted ten per cent maximum profit above the assessment. Corrupt practices were punishable in the courts. In the first days of con-

quest cases were few. But temptation was large since both judges and governors were drawn from the same class of people and had only a short time to reap any rewards from office. Nor many wealth-making opportunities existed in Italy itself.

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But the Latin Allies held firm. Every Roman—freeman and slave—was drafted for military service. Under QUINTUS FABIUS the Roman army refused open battle and waged hit and run warfare. Meanwhile the Roman, SCIPIO AFRICANUS moved into Spain and crushed Hannibal's rear support. Philip V of Macedonia was stymied by a Roman inspired Greek coalition against him, Sicily too was neutralized. Now the Romans sprang the trap that Hannibal had built for himself. Offensives forced Hannibal to the coast. Scipio landed in North Africa for an assault on Carthage. Hannibal was recalled to defend his homeland. At the Battle of Zama (202 B.C.), however, the Carthaginians were destroyed.

Carthage was reduced to a small African dependency. Under the insistent demands of CATO THE ELDER, who made famous the slogan—"Carthago Delenda Est" (Carthage must be destroyed)—Rome was maneuvered into taking a final step against Carthage in 146 B.C. For no apparent reason but revenge, Carthage was razed. She disappeared from history after this most unnecessary of Punic Wars.

Illyrian piracy and Macedonian aid to Carthage convinced the Romans that there could be no peace until Greece, too, became a Roman province. Aided by the Achaeans and Aetolian Leagues, Rome advanced against Macedonia and defeated her (200-197 B.C.). This was followed by the defeat of Antiochus III King of Seleucus in Asia Minor. Rome's imperium now extended from Spain to Asia Minor. Her empire was vast, but her problems of empire were vaster.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF EMPIRE

Conquered territories were divided into provinces ruled by governors appointed in Rome for one year. Governors ruled by army enforced decrees; they were aided by magistrates sent from Rome. Conquered peoples all had to pay extraordinary taxes to Rome. The collection of these taxes was turned over to private tax contractors (the publicans) who were permitted ten per cent maximum profit above the assessment. Corrupt and punishable in the courts. In the

quest, cases were few. But temptation was large since both judges and governors were drawn from the same class of people and had only a short time to reap any rewards from office. Not many wealth-making opportunities existed in Italy itself.

Rome's economic foundation was agricultural and in the export trade the balance of trade was against Rome. The wealth of some Romans was, of course, enormous, booty (theft) and tribute (extortion) created a class of new-rich—the equites or knights. It was they who handled the tax-contracts and the contracts for public works in the provinces. And it was they who finally corrupted the governors and magistrates there with bribes for shutting their eyes to fraudulent tax collection. Over-taxation forced large numbers of conquered peoples into debt from which they were then "rescued" by money lenders at fearful rates of interest. When the Roman Senate threatened investigation and exposure, they too were bribed. Corruption thus worked its slow poison into the blood-stream of Roman society.

Imperial booty flowed into the hands of the senators. But they were forbidden to contaminate themselves with business ventures. Therefore they invested their booty in land, which was to remain theirs for ever.

Unemployed labor. The displaced peasants drifted to the big city as unemployed workers. Most were citizens and could vote. They were therefore a potential menace to the ruling oligarchs—unless their votes could be bought. Herein was the origin of "bread and circuses," that is, public distribution of free food and public presentation of free spectacles—to distract the hungry and bored workers from more violent amusements. Roman workers did not want bread and circuses, they wanted land, and they began to demand that the latifundia be broken up and redistributed.

LAND REFORM

Seeking mainly to reform the army, Tiberius proposed a land division which would result in an increase in the number of peasant eligible for army service. The comitia tributa passed a law confiscating all land above a fixed amount and distributing the surplus among the landless. Two warring camps appeared—the rich and the poor. The power of the rich was in the Senate and the Senate vetoed the Gracchian reform. When the King of Pergamum asked his emperor to share Tiberius asked it on behalf of the common people, although custom decreed that it was the Senate's privilege to dispose of such bequests. When Tiberius now also came out with the proposal to reduce army service, reform the jury system, and make a census for the cities to get the Senate's assent him of seeking or enacting a reform and had him murdered.

Tiberius's brother, Gaius, became consul in 123 B.C. Bravely he proposed an even more extensive reform. He first sought to corrupt Rome into a democracy by transferring power to the Senate to the Assembly of the common people. Land confiscation and redistribution was continued and the Senate's power was weakened.

Gaius's reform was to give the landless citizens a number of colonies for the army. As well as in the Senate and the Assembly, a law was passed providing for the common land to be divided into small plots for the common people.

Senatorial opposition to these reforms was to learn by demonstrating and showing some partial support for the reform. Gaius was killed and his reform was abandoned.

The history left by the Gracchi brothers in Rome was a war over the power of the common (rich) and the poor. The common people were to be the power in the Roman Republic.

THE REPUBLIC DEGRADED

For the first time in Roman history, the common people were to be the power in the Roman Republic. The common people were to be the power in the Roman Republic.

These conditions the increasing corruption and land monopoly of the ruling group; the increase in slaves and their increased restiveness as reflected in numerous uprisings; the struggle of Rome's allies to secure Roman franchise; the decline in the number of freemen eligible for military service.

Populares into service, an act which professionalized the army. In his sixth consulateship Marius seized the provinces for colonization by his army veterans. Moreover the Marian party pushed through a franchise extension to all the Italian allies. When the Senate rejected this the Italians rose in revolt in the Social Wars (91-88 B.C.), wars that were terminated only as a result of a new threat to Rome from Mithridates VI of Pontus in Asia Minor. The franchise was granted.

Marius and Sulla. In turning to the problem of the Mithradatic threat, the Optimates and Populares split on the matter of command of the Roman armies. The Optimates chose LUCIUS CORNELIUS SULLA, a consul, the Populares naturally wanted Marius. Each had his own army. The result was bloody civil war and in the end Sulla conquered (Marius had died a natural death). Mithradates was crushed. Sulla then ended the policy of cheap grain, limited the powers of the tribune and the *comitia curiata*, restored all magistracies to the Senators, increased the powers of the Senate until it ruled the state, raised the age limit for office holding, and made all executives subservient to the Senate. Sulla carried out his restoration as a dictator chosen for the duration of the crisis. His support rested upon his army which had been rewarded with the lands confiscated from Sulla's enemies.

The Sulla Aftermath. Sulla retired from political life, but the hatreds he had inspired persisted. There were the personal hatreds of the survivors of those who had been massacred, hatreds of those who had lost their lands, of those who had been deprived of political power. New discontent arose among the veterans, the slaves and the conquered peoples. New threats appeared from Spanish tribes, from Mithradates again. Populares regrouped under IPPICUS and made a bid to restore the tribunate. Then, out of Capua in Italy, came the slave revolt led by SPARTACUS, a Thracian gladiator. On the sea pirates in alliance with Mithradates harassed Roman shipping. The merchants at home were bitter the slave revolt had destroyed their stores, pirates were taking their shipped goods, Senatorial prerogatives had cut into their political rights. People were looking for a new leader, candidates appeared.

POMPEY and CRASSUS had eliminated foreign enemies and the Spartacus revolt. When they returned home they demanded that the Senate surrender its new won power over the executive and judiciary to them. To reinforce their demands both commanders allied with the merchants and the Populares, whom, under Sulla, they had helped defeat. The Senate was forced to agree and in 70 B.C.

Pompey and Crassus became consuls. The reforms were scrapped. Pompey then went off to foreign wars in Pontus, Judea and Syria.

JULIUS CAESAR AND CAESARISM

Caesar. Between 70 B.C. and 46 B.C. JULIUS CAESAR rose from an ordinary soldier to Roman dictator to dominate Roman history. His first bid for power came when together with Crassus and CATULUS he plotted to overthrow the Senate. When CATULUS exposed the Catiline conspiracy, Caesar went to Spain to escape complicity. He bided his time until Pompey returned from the wars, then with Crassus and Pompey, Caesar helped form the First Triumvirate (60 B.C.). Caesar became a consul and as such pushed Pompey's cause against the Senate vigorously, he had no army of his own—yet. Since the Gauls were becoming troublesome, Caesar suggested that he be made the governor of Gaul and given an army to subdue the Gauls. This was readily granted and Caesar fought his Gallic Wars and recorded them brilliantly in his *Commentaries*. Circulated in Rome, the *Commentaries* built Caesar's reputation as an invincible conqueror.

By 49 B.C. the fruit was ripe for plucking. Crassus had been killed in battle, Julia, Caesar's daughter and Pompey's wife, who had been a cementing force between them, died. Conditions inside Rome became so anarchic that Pompey had established a military dictatorship. Still Caesar waited for Pompey to make the first move. When in 49 B.C. Pompey deprived Caesar of his command Caesar "crossed the Rubicon" for a decisive battle. Pompey fled to his army in the east, Caesar pursued and defeated him utterly in the Battle of Pharsalus. Pompey himself escaped to Egypt but was murdered before Caesar landed there. Caesar turned his military attentions to the conquest of Egypt, and his amorous attentions to Cleopatra whom he established as the ruler of Egypt. Then came Caesarism.

Caesarism. The program of Caesarism was developed between 46 B.C. and the 'Ides of March' 44 B.C. Caesar rested his power upon a broadened army base which was now extended over the breadth of the Empire. At home he kept only a praetorian guard of picked men. Widespread land reforms endeared him to the veterans.

Caesar recognized that the old forms of government had become obsolete, but he also knew that he must observe the *form* in changing the substance. In substance the government had to become one with his own absolute and undisputed power. Thus he made himself dictator—for life, he secured

legally the powers of the consul, the tribune the chief priest and the censor for himself, he was *not* the right to appoint all magistrates, to make war and peace to command the armies to expend public funds and to rule by executive decree. It was all perfectly proper. The Senate and Assembly continued to meet—to confirm Caesar's edicts. So close was Caesar to monarchy that he willed his nephew Gaius Octavius as his heir and successor.

reforms in the Roman state and empire. He began to extend Roman citizenship and franchise to inhabitants in the provinces. he restored Carthage as a commercial center. the Senate was made representative (without power) of the whole empire and Rome was converted from the capital of Italy to the capital of the empire.

Other reforms followed. the calendar was corrected for errors and modernized. civil and criminal courts were reformed. codification of the law was begun. the imperial bureaucracy was reorganized, provinces were removed from the control of the Senate. grain doles were reduced and those on relief were encouraged to take up land. imprisonment for debt was abolished. interest on loans was fixed at 12 per cent. ~~un~~ payments for debt were ~~reduced~~. Market inspection to protect consumers was launched. direct taxes were reduced. reclamation projects were begun. slaveowners were encouraged to free their slaves so that the percentage of slaves in the total population might be reduced.

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Rise. Caesar had willed his rule to his nephew OCTAVIUS. Octavius had to fight for his bequest against MARK ANTONY and LEPIDUS—both Caesar's friends and both commanding effective military power. All three however had a common enemy in the republican forces led by Cassius and Brutus.

A Second Triumvirate was therefore formed which consisted of Octavius, Antony and Lepidus. At Philippi the republicans were overwhelmed. Antony moved on to Egypt and to Cleopatra while Octavian (Octavius) returned to Rome to consolidate his position. When Antony divorced Octavia (Octavian's sister) to marry Cleopatra Octavian declared war. At the Battle of Actium, 39 B.C. his fleet won a decisive victory over Antony and Cleopatra. Octavian was now without opposition.

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In these bestowals the Senate recognized that the old order was gone. new times, new governmental forms. After a century of civil war the great desire of all Romans was peace and order. And Augustus Caesar was the one to give it to them.

Reforms. Augustus brought the *Pax Romana* to the Romans and to the world. The Roman army, recruited from the ranks of Roman citizens and officered by men from the aristocratic classes, stood guard at all the frontiers and within all troubled areas in the Empire. In Rome Augustus kept for himself a small praetorian guard. A standing navy was added to the armed forces. Military affairs were made the exclusive prerogative of Augustus himself. Competence over the provinces was divided: those pacified and near at home were granted to the Senate; others were administered by the Emperor.

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Reforms It was in Caesar's interest to make wide reforms in the Roman state and empire. He began to extend Roman citizenship and franchise to inhabitants in the provinces. He restored Carthage as a commercial center. The Senate was made representative (without power) of the whole empire and Rome was connected from the capital of Italy to the capital of the empire.

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Within all provinces Augustus decided upon all military matters. To meet the rise in state expenditures for the military for public works, for grain

distribution and the like, Augustus made tax collection a state function, taxes were now collected efficiently and new import taxes were introduced. To keep expenses down, no new foreign conquests were undertaken—particularly after the resounding defeat suffered by the Romans under Varus at the hands of Arminius, a Germanic barbarian.

Height. Augustus died in 14 AD and his stepson **TIBERIUS** was nominated by the Senate as his successor. Tiberius abolished the *comitia tributa*, transferred certain provinces from the Senate to himself in order to reform them, suppressed two great mutinies in the ranks of the legionnaires and many personal plots against himself. He died unpopular in 37 AD.

CALIGULA (37-41 AD) who succeeded him was insane and managed to dissipate the treasury in drunken revels and bizarre celebrations. The Praetorian Guard disposed of him. It was they who named **Claudius** as successor.

CLAUDIUS (41-54 AD) ruled well. He reoccupied Britain, reformed the bureaucracy by instituting special divisions, he completed the construction of two aqueducts and improved the great harbor at Ostia. Because she plotted against him, Claudius had his wife, Messalina, executed. He then married his niece, Agrippina, who bore him a son **Nero**. Agrippina then disposed of Claudius by poisoning him.

NERO (54-70 AD) was probably insane. His administration was filled with plot and counterplot, with assassination and execution, with persecution of the Christians who were made the scapegoat for a fire that swept Rome in 64 AD and with border revolts extending from Britain to Judea. When the Senate finally condemned Nero, he committed suicide.

VESPASIAN (70-79 AD) proved a wise choice. He reformed the tax structure, recovered large tracts of public lands from extortionists, introduced rigid governmental economy, increased the income of the state, restored discipline in the ranks of the army and kept the peace. His successor, **TITUS**, ruled for two years only (79-81 AD) and was followed by **Domitian**.

DOMITIAN (81-96 AD) built the lines of forts between the Germanic and Roman lands where no natural boundaries existed. Thus established peace in the northeast. Murder and assassination, including his own, featured Domitian's rule.

NERVA'S (96-98 AD) brief rule produced an interesting agricultural scheme to encourage agriculture in Italy; a revolving fund was set up by the

state, farmers could borrow from the fund at low interest rates, upon repayment the principal was returned to the fund and the interest was used for relief for indigent widows and orphans. Nerva began the adoptive system of imperial succession when he adopted **Trajan** as his son and successor.

TRAJAN (98-117 AD) was the first provincial to become an emperor. He was a brilliant military commander and during his rule he brought the Roman Empire to the Tigris and Euphrates rivers—its widest extent. He also made important reforms in the imperial administration. He adopted **Hadrian** as his son.

HADRIAN (117-138 AD) was a most unmilitary ruler. His interests were in languages, literature, philosophy and art. To avoid the bother of empire, he ceded Mesopotamia and Assyria to the Parthians, granted independence to Dacia, completed the northern forts, built a wall in Britain between Roman and Celtic lines, destroyed Jerusalem and scattered the Jews far and wide through the Empire. Internal administration was reformed and the praetorian edicts were codified. **Hadrian's Tomb** (The Castle of Saint Angelo) on the banks of the Tiber is a most fitting memorial of this most esthetic of the Roman emperors.

ANTONINUS PIUS (138-161) ruled long and peacefully, his successor **MARCUS AURELIUS (161-180)** ruled long was a man of peace. But the last few years troubled times. There were local wars against the Parthians, Germanic tribes and others, there were severe persecutions of the Christians. These external exertions were in direct contradiction to the inner life of Marcus who, in his famous *Meditation*, a treatise on Stoicism, revealed himself as a conscientious retiring philosophical and ascetic.

COMMODOUS (180-192) was a true son of Marcus Aurelius at least in the flesh. The spirit of Commodus—cruel, sensuous and cowardly—was far removed from that of his father. With Commodus begins the decline of Rome.

THE DECLINE OF ROME

Rome's decline extended over centuries; it had no sudden fall. Many factors contributed to the decline. Science and technology did not keep pace with the needs of the empire. The size of the empire was also a factor. It was impossible for the best intentioned emperor to cope with the ceaseless problems of rising nationalisms, border

attacks, graft and corruption in the provinces, inefficient bureaucracy, gross waste of limited resources. The drain on the public treasury was continuous. The wider the empire became, the less intense became the degree of patriotism, loss of patronism engendered corrupt political behavior. The army was sensitive to the decline particularly as it lost its Roman character and became increasingly provincial. With decline in emperor character, the army became a prime political force. It began to make and unmake emperors so frequently that one can say accurately that between the rule of Commodus (d. 192 A.D.) and the rise of Diocletian (284 A.D.) military anarchy prevailed in the Empire.

Political decline hastened the factors making for economic decline. Small farmers, the backbone of the Roman Republic, virtually disappeared or rather were absorbed into the immense estates as semi-slaves. The purchasing power represented by these small farmers disappeared and helped to ruin the city artisans who had produced manufactured goods for sale to the small farmers, besides, an important source of tax revenue also disappeared. With the ruin of the small farming and artisan classes, the state became the primary producer of goods, a factor which destroyed the initiative of the Romans resulting shortages of goods produced a steady inflation. Coinage began to disappear, what remained was debased and became worthless. The result was a reversion to barter. This had a tremendous impact upon the trading or middle classes who had become the backbone of the Empire. Foolish imperial decrees hastened the decline of this group. They were made responsible for the collection of taxes in the municipalities. Whatever they did not raise of the quota assigned them they had to pay out of their own pockets. They could not meet their quotas because the artisans had been ruined with the decline of the small farmers. Soon the middle class followed the artisans into ruin.

Some social factors entered the picture too. Population declined all during the imperial period. War, epidemic and plague were chiefly responsible, and, as times grew harder, natural birth rates declined among the poor as well as the rich. Of equal importance was the failure of nerve which accompanied physical decline. This was revealed in the spread superstitions that developed, in the wide-join mystical cults that guaranteed, at least, some reward in the hereafter, in the loss of patriotism, in the wild and bestial indulgences of the rich, etc.

The Fall. Several strenuous efforts were made to

halt the decline of the empire. Most notable was that of Diocletian (284-305 A.D.). Diocletian tried to augment the powers of the Emperor by introducing Oriental features of absolutism into his rule. He reformed the army, tried to halt inflation by instituting both price and wage controls, and made significant changes in imperial administration. This latter was most important for the future of European history. The Empire was divided in two, a western and eastern half and Diocletian ruled from the east. This division became permanent when Constantine (306-337) made Constantinople into a second Rome. When the fall came, it was the western half that collapsed, the eastern half continued for more than a thousand years to preserve and disseminate the culture of the Roman Empire.

THE GRANDEUR THAT WAS ROME

The Conquered Conquerors. In the sphere of culture the Romans themselves accepted the Greeks as their superiors. Greek influences, particularly in their Hellenistic or Alexandrian forms, determined the form and substance of Roman culture. Romans borrowed freely from Greek architecture, engineering, religion, literature and philosophy. Oddly, however, in spite of the reliance of the Romans upon the Greeks for a "classical education," modern civilization has relied upon the Romans, not the Greeks, for its classical training.

Latin. Compared to the Greek, the Latin tongue is inflexible, and lacks subtlety, it is not a language of fine distinctions. It is terse, precise, clear—an admirable instrument for science, engineering, business and law.

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distribution and the like Augustus made tax collection a state function, taxes were now collected efficiently and new import taxes were introduced. To keep expenses down no new foreign conquests were undertaken—particularly after the resounding defeat suffered by the Romans under Varus at the hands of Arminius, a Germanic barbarian.

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ANTONINUS PIUS (138-161) ruled long and peacefully. His successor MARCUS AURELIUS (161-180) ruled long, was a man of peace but faced enough troubled times. There were local wars against the Parthians, Germanic tribes and others; there were severe persecutions of the Christians. These external exertions were in direct contradiction to the inner life of Marcus who in his famous *Meditations* a treatise on Stoicism revealed himself as simple, conscientious, retiring, philosophical and ascetic.

COMMODUS (180-192) was a true son of Marcus Aurelius at least in the flesh. The spirit of Commodus—cruel, sensuous and cowardly—was far removed from that of his father. With Commodus begins the decline of Rome.

THE DECLINE OF ROME

Rome's decline extended over centuries; it had no sudden fall. Many factors contributed to the decline. Science and technology did not keep pace with Roman expansion and Romans found that they were unable to handle efficiently the food, tools and transport problems that arose. The immense size of the empire was also a factor. It was impossible for the best intentioned emperor to cope with the ceaseless problems of rising nationalisms, border

attacks, graft and corruption in the provinces, inefficient bureaucracy, gross waste of limited resources. The drain on the public treasury was continuous. The wider the empire became, the less intense became the degree of patriotism, loss of patriotism engendered corrupt political behavior. The army was sensitive to the decline particularly as it lost its Roman character and became increasingly provincial. With decline in emperor character, the army became a prime political force. It began to make and unmake emperors so frequently that one can say accurately that between the rule of Commodus (d. 192 A.D.) and the rise of Diocletian (284 A.D.) military anarchy prevailed in the Empire.

Political decline hastened the factors making for economic decline. Small farmers, the backbone of the Roman Republic, virtually disappeared or rather were absorbed into the immense estates as semi-slaves. The purchasing power represented by these small farmers disappeared and helped to ruin the city artisans who had produced manufactured goods for sale to the small farmers, besides, an important source of tax revenue also disappeared. With the ruin of the small farming and artisan classes, the state became the primary producer of goods, a factor which destroyed the initiative of the Romans. Resulting shortages of goods produced a steady inflation. Coinage began to disappear, what remained was debased and became worthless. The result was a reversion to barter. The social impact had become so

imperial decrees hastened the decline of this group. They were made responsible for the collection of taxes in the municipalities. Whatever they did not raise of the quota assigned them they had to pay out of their own pockets. They could not meet their quotas because the artisans had been ruined with the decline of the small farmers. Soon the middle class followed the artisans into ruin.

Some social factors entered the picture too. Population declined all during the imperial period. War, epidemic and plague were chiefly responsible, and, as times grew harder, natural birth rates declined among the poor as well as the rich. Of equal importance was the failure of nerve which accompanied physical decline. This was revealed in the search for security above enterprise, in the widespread superstitions that developed, in the rush to join mystical cults that guaranteed, at least, some reward in the hereafter, in the loss of patriotism, in the wild and bestial indulgences of the rich, etc.

The Fall. Several strenuous efforts were

halt the decline of the empire. Most notable was that of DIOCLETIAN (284-305 A.D.) Diocletian tried to augment the powers of the Emperor by introducing Oriental features of absolutism into his rule. He reformed the army, tried to halt inflation by instituting both price and wage controls, and made significant changes in imperial administration. This latter was most important for the future of European history. The Empire was divided in two, a western and eastern half and Diocletian ruled from the east. This division became permanent when CONSTANTINE (306-337) made Constantinople into a second Rome. When the fall came, it was the western half that collapsed, the eastern half continued for more than a thousand years to preserve and disseminate the culture of the Roman Empire.

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In Roman hands the Greek building became grandiose, colossal—and more practical. The Romans added to the Greek heritage the art of the administration building, the public bath, the theatre, the amphitheatre, the race track (Coliseum) and the monumental structure like the triumphal arch and the commemorative column. To secure proper height Roman architects abandoned the simple post and lintel system of the Greeks and utilized the arch, the vault and the dome. To secure proper ornamentation they adopted and elaborated the Corinthian column. But columns ceased to be functional; they were added purely for decorative effect. Roman architecture was careless, but imposing. An original contribution was the basilica with a nave and clerestory windows—a form necessarily adapted later by medieval church builders.

LITERATURE

In The Days of the Republic 218-27 B.C. In the formative days of Roman history literary art was imitative of the Greeks. In the drama PLAUTUS (c. 254-185 B.C.) and TERENTIUS (185-159 B.C.) towered above all others, writing brilliant comedies, *satires farces*.

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Augustus brought peace and wealth to Rome, art now reflected Rome's new pride.

The grant of this era was VIRGIL (70-19 B.C.) Virgil first composed the *Bucolics* and *Eclogues*—pastoral poems.

The *Georgics* were essentially propaganda designed to get the Roman back on the farms. But these were exercises in preparation for the epic to follow, the *Aeneid*. This great epic of the founding of Rome was imitative of Homer, nonetheless it was peculiarly Virgilian in its perfection of diction, rhythm and style, in its brilliant reportage, in its unity of theme around the central character Aeneas, brave, pious, temperate, wise and, above all, devoted to duty.

Second in stature only to Virgil was HORACE (65-8 B.C.), a master of many poetic forms. Throughout all of his works there ran a strain of hedonism, of stoicism and of Aristotle's concept of the golden mean. His was the perfected style— witty, direct, and always polished.

During this same period OVID produced his *Amors* and the *Metamorphoses*, on the lives of the Roman gods. The histories of LIVY were notable for color and enthusiasm, but they were overconcerned with celebrating Rome's greatness and success.

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The most notable achievement in this field was that of JUSTINIAN (527-565 A.D.) an eastern Emperor. Justinian created a commission headed by TRIBONIAN to simplify and codify all extant Roman law. Tribonian's commission first produced the Code, a collection of the recorded decisions of judges and writings of famous jurists. These were summarized in the *Digest*. Since the length of the summary was still forbidding, Tribonian reduced them into the book-length *Institutes*. New laws by Justinian were then put into the *Novels*. All together these made up the famed *Corpus Juris Civilis* which had such great influence in medieval civil and canon law and in the secular law of national states until the end of the 18th century. A.D.

Religion. We have seen that the original Roman religion was far less anthropomorphic than the Greek. In fact, Jupiter, Juno, and the other gods did not become divine *persons*, possessing human attributes, until the first wave of Greek influence swept over Rome. As in the days of Hellenistic influence, the Greek faith itself succumbed to oralization, to cult and mystery, to imitation and emotion. The Romans experienced an invasion of many new Oriental cults which challenged their prevailing beliefs. Common to these mystic faiths were beliefs in immortality, purification of the soul, redemption rites and ceremonies, initiations, priesthood and community worship.

Especially popular was the Mithraic cult, a derivative of Zoroastrianism. Accepting ZOROASTER's basic premise that two forces contended in the world, Light and Darkness, Mithra worshippers added the premise that Mithra, a sun-god, was sent to earth to redeem mankind from the force of darkness. Mithra had no human mother; he emerged at birth from a rock in a stable, a few shepherds were witness to this remarkable birth. Mithra waged war on evil, was slain and then was resurrected; he rose to heaven and it was there his followers went after death; the wicked went to hell. Mithra sat in judgment on each soul. One day he would return for a general judgment of all man-

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Philosophy. Mithraism appealed to army men, lower classes and slaves; the Roman elite preferred emperor worship or philosophy. A considerable vogue was enjoyed by Stoicism, a late Greek concept inaugurated by ZENO of Citium (c. 300 B.C.) and which attracted such noble minds as those of Cicero, Seneca and the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. Stoicism postulated a Divine Reason which was identical with universal natural law (*pantheism*). Through study of nature men came to God. In translating natural law into ethics, Stoics proclaimed the doctrines of the World State, equality of men, and natural brotherhood of all men. Stoics rejected all gods; for them man stood independent in the universe; each man was an individual pursuing an ideal. This ideal was compounded of many elements: indifference to one's personal fate, service, unpaid, to mankind, a belief in the here and now only, self-sufficiency, the virtues of resolution, fortitude, willingness to die for one's beliefs, devotion to duty, contempt for pleasure or pain. Stoics argued that man owes allegiance to no one, or no thing, but his conscience; however, to avoid emotional distress, one ought to accept the *status quo* confirmed in the belief that all men will gradually grow more reasonable and work to bring the Divine Order, the rational scheme of things, on earth.

Quite opposed to Stoicism was Epicureanism. The Roman *scrittus* made a beautiful and excellent summary of this doctrine in his *De Rerum Natura*. Epicureanism was founded in atomism as developed by DEMOCRITUS and was therefore a thoroughgoing materialism. Atomism, we have seen, was destructive of all belief in gods; all things were reducible to material particles. Man was formed of particles too, and for one purpose—the pursuit of happiness. Happiness was nothing more than freedom from pain and enjoyment of pleasure (hedonism). Epicurus taught that pleasure is maximized when men reduce their wants to a minimum. The pleasant life consisted of good talk, satisfying appetites, which, upon becoming responsibilities, gathered men not only for an increase in knowledge but a fruitful source for discovering new pleasures.

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LITERATURE

In The Days of the Republic 240-27 B.C. In the formative days of Roman history, literary art was imitative of the Greeks. In the drama PLAUTUS (c. 254-185 B.C.) and TERENTIUS (185-159 B.C.) towered above all others, winning brilliant comedies, satires, farces.

In CATULLUS (84-54 B.C.) the Republic produced an exceptional lyric poet.

Julius Caesar and Sallust produced creditable histories during this era. But the major prose figure was CICERO. His collected works include treatises on rhetoric, orations, political essays, moral essays, theological treatises and letters. Cicero was an unoriginal thinker but his prose set the pattern for "classical prose" for centuries to come with its emphasis on pure vocabulary, precise idiom, straightforward speech, fluent rhythm and emotional appeal.

In The Days of the Principate 27 B.C. 14 A.D.

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In LORENTIUS the Romans produced a highly original thinker in the field of esthetics. Longinus contributed the affective theory of literature in his essay *On The Sublime*, his argument was that the value of a literary work was not in its moral value as Plato had held, or in its form as Aristotle maintained, but in its ability to move the reader into a state of ecstasy or sublimity by the grandeur and passion of its art.

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The job of the judge was justice and justice was 'the steady and abiding purpose to give every man that which is his own.' If justice were to prevail, then the law itself must be simple and available to any who could read. Romans concerned themselves frequently with the problems of simplification and codification of the law.

The most notable achievement in this field was that of JUSTINIAN (527-565 AD), an eastern Emperor. Justinian created a commission headed by TRIBONIAN to simplify and codify all extant Roman law. Tribonian's commission first produced the Code, a collection of the recorded decisions of judges and writings of famous jurists. These were summarized in the *Digest*. Since the length of the summary was still forbidding, Tribonian reduced them into the book-length *Institutes*. New laws by Justinian were then put into the *Novels*. All together these made up the famed *Corpus Juris Civilis* which had such great influence in medieval civil and canon law and in the secular law of national states until the end of the 18th century AD.

Religion. We have seen that the original Roman religion was far less anthropomorphic than the Greek. In fact, Jupiter, Juno, and the other gods did not become divine persons, possessing human attributes until the first wave of Greek influence swept over Rome. As in the days of Hellenistic influence, the Greek faith itself succumbed to orientalizations, to cult and mystery, to initiation and emotion; the Romans experienced an invasion of many new Oriental cults which challenged their prevailing beliefs. Common to these mystic faiths were beliefs in immortality, purification of the soul, redemption, rites and ceremonies, initiations, priest-hood and community worship.

Especially popular was the Mithraic cult, a derivative of Zoroastrianism. Accepting Zoroaster's basic premise that two forces contended in the world, Light and Darkness, Mithra worshippers added the premise that Mithra, a sun god, was sent to earth to redeem mankind from the force of darkness. Mithra had no human mother; he emerged at birth from a rock in a stable; a few shepherds were witness to this remarkable birth. Mithra waged war on evil, was slain and then was resurrected; he rose to heaven and it was there his followers went after death, the wicked went to hell. Mithra sat in judgment on each soul. One day he would return for a general judgment of all man-

kind. Some of the Mithraic rites included, worship in candlelit caves, baptism, the eating of consecrated bread and wine, the celebration of December 25 as Mithra's birthday, elaborate initiation rites during which the candidate passed through seven stages to a final abode among the blessed. Membership in the Mithraic cult was restricted to men.

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Quite opposite to Stoicism was Epicureanism. The Roman philosopher Epicurus made a beautiful and excellent summary of this doctrine in his *De Rerum Natura*. Epicureanism was founded in atomism developed by Democritus and was therefore thoroughgoing materialism. Atomism, we have seen, was destructive of all belief in gods and all that were reducible to material particles. Epicurus formed of particles too and pursuit of happiness. Happier than freedom from pain and (hedonism) Epicurus emphasized when men reduced the possession of friends and riches, avoiding pain bearing rosebuds while one is in meriment study for a fruitful source for d-

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THE MESSAGE OF JESUS CHRIST

Jesus Christ left no writings. His sayings, however, were collected by the authors of the Four Gospels—Matthew, Mark, Luke and John—and are incorporated as part of the New Testament. The sayings of Christ have been the subject of considerable interpretation, but there is wide agreement on their literal content.

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Quite opposed to Stoicism was **Christianity**. Will this love for God and neighbor manifest itself in conduct or behavior? On this matter Christ placed considerable emphasis on the inner attitudes of men on their unseen states of mind and heart. Thus among those he considered blessed were those who were the poor in spirit, the meek, those who mourn, those who hunger for justice and those who are peacemakers. He believed firmly that one must love one's enemies and from this he drew two corollary beliefs: it is not enough to love the man in sin; Thou shalt not kill, one must not even be angry with one's brother, one must not even contend with one's opponents quickly. One must wait until the evidence one must turn the other cheek and the like. More positively, one must love men their offenses. The state of one's mind requires self-examination and men were

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The Moral Heritage. Paul of Tarsus was a Jewish convert to Christianity and, following his conversion, became a practical organizer of the Christian religion and the first to set up Christian communities outside of Palestine. In his preaching, Paul continued and even deepened the Judeo-Christian stress upon one, all-embracing, all-powerful, all-good, merciful God; upon God's special relationship with a universal body of the faithful; upon the dire fruits of sinfulness and the rich fruits of lawfulness; upon the need for personal and social perfection, particularly of the spirit. These preachings filled the need of the time for something more enduring than the ecstatic oriental mystery cults. Paul, however, introduced a new note into this tradition by stressing the conflict between the flesh and the spirit—flesh was material and evil, spirit was non-material and good.

The Supernatural and the Mysterious. Essentially Christianity was a supernatural belief and rested upon faith in the mysteries and miracles of Christ. Paul heightened and deepened these elements by linking them with the principal mystery—the Redemption. To be released from sin and saved for eternity, a believer had to identify himself, through faith, with the death and resurrection of Christ. He had to believe that Christ's death and resurrection were in the nature of atonement for the sins of mankind. The inward act of faith, preached Paul, had to be coupled with participation in the external acts of baptism and eating the bread and drinking the wine of the Eucharist. By this means, supernaturally and mysteriously, the Body of Christ became indwelling in the believer and thus a share in eternal glory was vouchsafed.

Eschatological. Paul linked the judgment of last things with the origin of first things in a drama of salvation. In the beginning was the Creation and Adam's sin and fall. Adam's surrender to the devil had corrupted all mankind. God had foreseen all this and had prepared the way to salvation through the divine being incarnate in Christ. Through Christ mankind can be redeemed.

The Law. Among the early Christians there were those who insisted that the entire Jewish law was valid and in force for all Christians. Paul championed the cause of complete freedom from the Law. This insistence paved the way for the spread of the Christian gospel into the very heart of pagandom, Rome itself.

WHY CHRISTIANITY TRIUMPHED

When the first millenium opened Christianity was a small struggling sect in a vast sea of contending beliefs. By 392 A.D. it was the only legal faith in Europe. How does the historian account for this?

Conversion of the Mediterranean Peoples

Early Christians set themselves the goal of carrying their faith to all men. As a result of Paul's activities, congregations were founded in Jerusalem, Antioch, Philippi, Thessalonica, Corinth and Athens. Tradition holds that Peter evangelized Rome and was followed there by Paul. Early successes were greater in the east than in the west, and in the cities than on the farms. Evidence points to conversion first among slaves, impoverished freemen and women, though at all times a few of the well-to-do were attracted to the new faith. The common people were obviously attracted to Christianity by such features as its humanity, its feeling for brotherhood, its care for the poor, the widowed, the orphaned.

Syncretism. Residents of the Roman Empire were practitioners of many faiths; Christianity had to overcome their devotion to these competing faiths. Conversion of Jews became possible when Christianity incorporated into its doctrine beliefs in one God, the story of universal creation and the divine plan of history, the moral code of the Ten Commandments, the concept of sin, a hereafter, and redemption through a Messiah. Manichaeans were attracted by Christian otherworldliness; the doctrine of the conflict between matter (evil) and spirit (good), and Christian asceticisms. Gnostics were committed to the stress upon spiritual knowledge through intuition and the doctrine of the Primal Man who would come to redeem mankind. Worshipers of Mithra who followed many of the rites practiced by Christians (e.g., baptism, a holy meal, December 25th), neo-Platonists and neo-Pythagoreans, who could accept Christian ideas of the creative Logos, of intermediary spirits like powers and angels, etc., Stoics, who also preached universal brotherhood—all found something with the Christian doctrine and ritual that won their consent.

Roman Persecution. Romans were normally tolerant of foreign religions, they acted on the principle that all gods are true, including those of the Romans. Christian insistence that no God was true except their own, and that worship of Roman gods was pagan and doomed such believers to hell, caused the Roman state to retaliate by persecution. This persecution increased when the Christians de-

nounced military service, gladiatorial contests, immorality, slavery, etc. The secret meetings of the Christians at night and in caves, gave rise to charges that they were engaged in immoral and subversive activities.

In the first two centuries Christians suffered more at the hands of the Roman populace than at the hands of the Roman emperors though the persecutions of Nero, Trajan and Marcus Aurelius were severe. In the third century A.D. imperial persecutions became systematic. Decius (c. 248 A.D.) killed and banished hundreds of Christians who refused to appear before the magistrates and make a sacrifice to the Roman gods. Valerian (253-260) intensified persecutions to prevent many of the upper class Romans from joining the Christian order. Diocletian, in 303 A.D. purged the army of Christians, burned Christian books, removed all Christians from public office and prohibited the freeing of Christian slaves.

Persecutions had an effect contrary to that expected by the Roman rulers. It increased the feeling of "fellowship" among Christians. It gave to the Christian Church a group of martyrs who were considered to be witnesses to the faith. It won to the faith many adherents who objected to persecution and it convinced many that the Christians were indestructible. ~~the faith~~ the faith survived in spite of persecution.

Christianity Becomes Legal Toleration was extended to the Christians by an edict of GALERIUS in 311 A.D. Galerius, who had persecuted Christians severely, sought their aid through prayer for a malignant disease he had. CONSTANTINE (306-337) also sought such aid from Christians as he entered the Battle of Milvian Bridge (312) in his war against the Eastern Emperor MAXENTIUS. His men bore Christian devices on their standards and shields. He was victorious and in gratitude he issued the Edict of Milan (313) which granted Christians freedom of worship, the removal of all legal disabilities and the restitution of all confiscated property.

Constantine's pro-Christian policy accelerated conversion among the upper classes of Roman society. Constantine also took steps to convert the conservative peasantry upon whom paganism had its strongest hold. He made observance of Sunday obligatory, built new churches, dedicated the new city of Constantinople to the Blessed Virgin, granted alms to poorer congregations, exempted Christian priests from political obligations and compulsory labor participated actively in Church

councils and helped to enforce the decisions of these councils. Under Constantine it became increasingly difficult to be anything but a Christian. Constantine's successors, with the exception of JULIAN (361-363)—whom the Christians labeled the Apostate—took more direct steps against paganism. The death penalty was invoked against any who performed pagan sacrifices. Temple properties were confiscated and given to the Church, "heretics" were driven into exile, pagan priests were deprived of exemptions and privileges, "heretics" could not make wills or inherit property, etc. Finally, under THEODOSIUS I (379-395) Christianity became the only legal religion, and Catholicism the only orthodox faith.

The Christian Priesthood The success of Christianity was determined to a great extent by the consolidation of its organizational forms. The first Christian leaders were the Apostles who traveled about the Roman Empire founding congregations. Within these congregations the presbyters or elders and the deacons became the leaders. Presbyters were instructors in the faith and deacons earned on the charitable works. To govern large numbers of congregations the colleges or collection of presbyters appeared; they, too, were aided by deacons and had the function of keeping the faith pure, guarding morals, administering sacraments and the like. Christian leadership became an episcopate with the rise of the bishop as the chief functionary of the Church. Bishops derived from the belief in the primacy of Peter as leader of the Apostles and from the idea of the apostolic succession. Socially, the power of the bishop increased because of the great increase in administrative work as the numbers of Christians grew, the need for centralization in such matters as performance of the Eucharist, installing new priests, etc. the geographical separation that began to appear between the parish and the diocese and the religious conflicts that swept the Christian communities in the first three centuries. A provincial meeting of bishops was called a synod, a general meeting of all bishops, an ecumenical council. By the end of the third century after considerable debate and struggle it was established that there could be no salvation outside the church and that no one could be in the church who did not accept the bishop, successor of the Apostles, as the spiritual head of the church.

The Supremacy of the Roman Papacy For many years the Bishop of Rome claimed supremacy over all bishops. This claim was based upon the

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Persecutions had an effect contrary to that expected by the Roman rulers. It increased the feeling of "apartness" among Christians, it gave to the Christian Church a group of martyrs who were considered to be witnesses to the faith, it won to the faith many adherents who had been previously unconvinced, and it convinced the persecutors of the indestructible nature of the Christian Church.

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Constantine's pro-Christian policy accelerated conversion among the upper classes of Roman Italy. Constantine also took steps to convert the strongest hold. He made observance of Sunday obligatory, built new churches, dedicated the new city of Constantinople to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and gave aid to poorer congregations, exempted them from political obligations and encouraged labor, participated actively in Church

affairs and helped to enforce the decisions of these councils. Under Constantine a heretic was increasingly difficult to be anything but a Christian. Constantine's successors, with the exception of Julian (361-363)—who the Christians labeled "the Apostate"—took more drastic steps against paganism. The death penalty was an old penalty for any who performed pagan sacrifices, temple properties were confiscated and given to the Church, "heretics" were driven into exile, pagan priests were deprived of exemptions and privileges, "heretics" could not make wills or inherit property, etc. Finally, under Theodosius I (379-395) Christianity became the only legal religion, and Catholicism the only orthodox faith.

The Christian Priesthood. The success of Christianity was due in part to a great extent to the consolidation of its organizational form. The first Christian leaders were the Apostles who traveled about the Roman Empire founding congregations. Within these congregations the presbyters or elders and the deacons became the leaders. Presbyters were instructors in the faith and deacons carried on the charitable work. To govern large numbers of congregations the colleges or colleges of presbyters appeared, they, too, were aided by bishops and had the function of keeping the

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Petrine Doctrine. The Petrine Doctrine rested doctrinally upon this verse in Matthew 16:18 "Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church." Because of this statement it was argued that what Christ gave to the other Apostles, he gave through Peter. Peter was therefore the prince of the Apostles and "rules personally those whom Christ rules supremely." The claim for the supremacy of the Roman bishop was based historically upon the tradition that Peter himself had established the Roman bishopric.

Needless to say, this claim was bitterly contested by the patriarchs and metropolitans of other areas. Many factors account for the fact that western Christians came to accept the claims of the Roman bishop. Rome's traditional position as the center of a universal empire, the removal of imperial political authority to the east after 330 A.D., the barbarian invasions, which often left the Roman bishop as the sole temporal (political) power in the west, the succession of very able bishops at Rome, the unvarying orthodoxy of the Roman bishops etc. POPE LEO I (440-461) made the primacy of Roman bishops a fact when he persuaded the Emperor, Valentinian III, to decree that Rome was to be the chief seat of ecclesiastical power for Christianity, and that the decrees of the Roman bishop were to have the force of law for the entire church. An ecumenical council at Chalcedon in 451 sustained Valentinian's decree.

Monasticism. Monasticism developed from the Christian ideal of moral perfection. This ideal became linked with the belief that moral perfection could only come through a renunciation of all worldly goods, needs, desires and ambitions; it was through this worldliness that corruption and sin made their entry into the human spirit. To flee temptation, some Christians began to make a physical withdrawal from the world: they went to live solitary lives in the desert, or in caves, or in the wilderness. They grubbed for food, spent long hours in prayer and meditation, mortified their flesh by fasting and physical punishment and avoided all contact with other people. In a sense, they were continuing the tradition of Christian martyrdom and came to be regarded by surrounding Christians as very holy men. Secular clergymen, that is, the bishop and priest who worked with people, appreciated the holy intent of these hermits but felt that it would be far safer for the church if withdrawal from the world were done in a more organized fashion. The result was that a movement began to establish communities of "monks."

The monk AMMON (c. 200 A.D.) was the first to gather together a group of hermits to live together as a community. Each of his members lived in a home quarried from rock, prayed, meditated and mortified the flesh, and engaged in some kind of work. PACHOMIUS (292-346) built upon this foundation and formulated the first rules for monastic living: lonely living, work, memorization of the New Testament, no washing, head covered when eating, etc.

Because of the political and economic disorders of the fourth century, monasticism grew swiftly, and the need for regulating these communities increased. ST. BASIL of Caesars (330-379) in Asia Minor adapted monasticism to the organized life of the church and his rules were widely adopted in the east. Basil was opposed to the self-inflicted austerities of the early hermits. He realized that to be a successful monk, one had to be tested and trained; he therefore introduced the novitiate into monasticism, a probationary period during which the beginner was systematically trained. Thereafter monks devoted their lives to organized study, prayer, meditation, charity and work.

In the west it was BENEDICT (480-543) who formulated the rules for monastic life. His monastery established at Monte Cassino in Italy. The novitiate was carefully planned to test the true desire of the entrant to give up the world. When admitted, the Benedictine monk took vows of absolute poverty, obedience and chastity; he ate, prayed, worked and slept in common with his brothers; he suppressed all idle gossip; he followed a set and rigid schedule; he could undertake no special austerities without permission; he ate no flesh of quadrupeds; he engaged in many prescribed fasts; he could be flogged for violation of the rules.

Monasticism then created a clear division between the secular clergy, the sacred hierarchy that worked in the world, and the regular clergy, those who lived according to rules that withdrew them from the world. Both branches of the spiritual elite served as important stabilizing forces in the Dark Ages that were to come after the fall of Rome.

The Forging Of Orthodoxy. From the first Christianity had to cope with the problem of what was the right or orthodox doctrine as opposed to the heretical or self-chosen and wrong doctrine. In the second century, for example, Gnostics like Valentinus tried to force upon Christianity the ideas that Christ was the *Logos*, the mediator between God and man, the source of light and life, and

therefore no person; Christ as a person would have had to have contact with matter which, said the Gnostics, was pure evil. Valentinus (d 160 A.D.) and Marcion (fl ca 144 A.D.) both tried to divorce Christianity from all connection with the Old Testament and to link it only with the New Testament. Montanus (150-180) argued that God's revelation was continuous, that it was vouchsafed to inspired prophets, and that therefore only inspired prophets should be permitted to the priesthood. Furthermore, since women too can be inspired, they should be permitted into the priesthood.

Such interpretations of Christianity were fought by apologists for the orthodox faith and were eventually rejected as "heresies." In the struggle with these heresies, however, orthodox Christians were compelled to begin theological speculation on the relation of Christ to universal processes of creation and salvation, on the validity or non-validity of the body of Christian writings, on exactly what is the true, fixed, universal (catholic) doctrine. As a result of the work of IRENAEUS (130-200) and TERTULLIAN (155-225) and others by the middle of the third century the books in the New Testament were fixed and the first formulation of the Apostle's Creed was made.

New pressures on the doctrines of Christianity came when the educated classes were converted during the fourth and fifth centuries. Political rivalry between Rome and cities in the Near East helped to spark new intellectual controversies that now arose from the educated Christians. It is calculated that by 325 A.D. there were as many as ninety Christian sects extant. In the main, however, their differences had to do with disagreements about the unity of God, the freedom of the human will and the nature of Christ. Lesser differences centered on Church organization, discipline and ritual.

The greatest of these quarrels centered around the teachings of ARIUS (310-336) and ATHANASIUS (298-373). Arius denied the divinity of Christ; Christ was made of a substance similar with that of God, but not identical. Christ was created and therefore not eternal and not God. To this, Athanasius opposed the doctrine of the Trinity. The Trinity consisted of three persons: God, the Father Almighty, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and the Holy Ghost. Each of these three persons was an essential principle of a single substance. This fundamental issue was settled for the orthodox at the first ecumenical council called by Constantine in 325 A.D. and held in Nicea. The Nicene Creed there adopted favored the position of Athanasius.

Controversy did not end with adoption of the Nicene Creed. Nestorians raised the question, How could Christ at one and the same time have both a human and a divine nature at the time he was incarnate? How could Mary be the Mother of God if she were a human being? Pelagians denied that Adam's sin had affected the whole human race, man therefore could be sinless and could go to Heaven without being redeemed. Monophysites argued that Christ was God and never man. Each of these "heresies" found enough followers to create its own church and to persist in spite of severe persecution. For western Europe, the end of the era of theological controversy did establish a core of orthodox creed. This included the following dogmas, that

- God is one substance and three persons (the Trinity),
- Adam's sin of disobedience doomed the whole human race to corruption (the Fall),
- God became man as Christ to redeem sinful man (the Incarnation),
- God is miraculously born of the Virgin Mary (the Virgin Birth),
- At one time Christ was both God and completely man (the Dual Nature of Christ),
- God as Christ died as man to redeem the whole human race (the Atonement),
- God as Christ rose from the grave to bring those who believe in Him immortality (the Resurrection),
- God as Christ founded the Church as the only means of redemption (the Divine Foundation of the Church),
- Through his Love, God gives man spiritual aid in his effort to escape from sin (Grace),
- God as Christ will return to earth, resurrect the dead, save the blessed and damn the wicked (the Second Coming).

The Latin Church Fathers. The early Latin Church fathers (Lactantius, Arnobius, etc.) were more concerned with practical matters concerning the supremacy of the faith and ecclesiastical organization than with philosophical and theological speculation. During the fourth century, however, Latin Churchmen began to give more attention to the "theory" of their faith. AMBROSE (340-397), Bishop of Milan, wrote copiously to prove that Christian ethics were superior to pagan, that ecclesiastical authority is supreme over secular, that the Bible contains figurative and allegorical meaning, etc. JEROME (340-420) was a great scholar and his contribution to Latin Christianity was a translation of the Bible, known as the Vulgate, which became the accepted translation of the Roman Church. Ethically, Jerome leaned to severe, ascetic morality.

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Needless to say, this claim was bitterly contested by the patriarchs and metropolitans of other areas. Many factors account for the fact that western Christians came to accept the claims of the Roman bishop. Rome's traditional position as the center of a universal empire, the removal of imperial political authority to the east after 330 A.D., the barbarian invasions, which often left the Roman bishop as the sole temporal (political) power in the west, the succession of very able bishops at Rome, the unvarying orthodoxy of the Roman bishops etc. POPE LEO I (440-461) made the primacy of Roman bishops a fact when he persuaded the Emperor, Valentinian III, to decree that Rome was to be the chief seat of ecclesiastical power for Christianity, and that the decrees of the Roman bishop were to have the force of law for the entire church. An ecumenical council at Chalcedon in 451 sustained Valentinian's decree.

Monasticism. Monasticism developed from the Christian ideal of moral perfection. This ideal became linked with the belief that moral perfection could only come through a renunciation of all worldly goods, needs, desires and ambitions, it was through this worldliness that corruption and sin made their entry into the human spirit. To flee temptation, some Christians began to make a physical withdrawal from the world. They went to live solitary lives in the desert, or in caves, or in the wilderness. They grubbed for food, spent long hours in prayer and meditation, mortified their flesh by fasting and physical punishment and avoided all contact with other people. In a sense, they were continuing the tradition of Christian martyrdom and came to be regarded by surrounding Christians as very holy men. Secular clergymen, that is, the bishop and priest who worked with people appreciated the holy intent of these hermits but felt that it would be far safer for the church if withdrawal from the world were done in a more organized fashion. The result was that a movement began to establish communities of "monks."

The monk AMMON (c. 200 A.D.) was the first to gather together a group of hermits to live together as a community. Each of his members lived in a home quarried from rock, prayed, meditated and mortified the flesh, and engaged in some kind of work. PACHOMIUS (292-346) built upon this foundation and formulated the first rules for monastic living: lonely living, work, memorization of the New Testament, no washing, head covered when eating, etc.

Because of the political and economic disorders of the fourth century monasticism grew swiftly and the need for regulating these communities increased. ST. BASIL of Caesarea (330-379) in Asia Minor adapted monasticism to the organized life of the church and his rules were widely adopted in the east. Basil was opposed to the self-inflicted austerities of the early hermits. He realized that to be a successful monk, one had to be tested and trained; he therefore introduced the novitiate into monasticism, a probationary period during which the beginner was systematically trained. Thereafter monks devoted their lives to organized study, prayer, meditation, charity, and work.

In the west it was BENEDICT (480-543) who formulated the rules for monastic life. His monastery established at Monte Cassino in Italy. The novitiate was carefully planned to test the eager desire of the entrant to give up the world. When admitted, the Benedictine monk took vows of absolute poverty, obedience and chastity; he ate, prayed, worked and slept in common with his brothers. He suppressed all idle gossip; he followed a set and rigid schedule; he could undertake no special austerities without permission; he ate no flesh of quadrupeds; he engaged in many prescribed tasks; he could be flogged for violation of the rules.

Monasticism then created a clear division between the secular clergy, the sacred hierarchy that worked in the world, and the regular clergy, those who lived according to rules that withdrew them from the world. Both branches of these spiritual elite served as important stabilizing forces in the "Dark Ages" that were to come after the fall of Rome.

The Forging Of Orthodoxy. From the first Christians had to cope with the problem of what was the right or orthodox doctrine as opposed to the heretical or self-chosen and wrong doctrine. In the second century, for example, Gnostics like Valentinus rejected the core of Christianity, the ideas that Christ was the *Logos*, the mediator between God and man, the source of light and life, and

therefore no person; Christ as a person would have had to have contact with matter which, said the Gnostics, was pure evil. Valentinus (d. 160 A.D.) and Marcion (fl. ca. 144 A.D.) both tried to divorce Christianity from all connection with the Old Testament and to link it only with the New Testament. Montanus (150-180) argued that God's revelation was continuous, that it was vouchsafed to inspired prophets, and that therefore only inspired prophets should be permitted to the priesthood. Furthermore, since women too can be inspired, they should be permitted into the priesthood.

Such interpretations of Christianity were fought by apologists for the orthodox faith and were eventually rejected as "heresies." In the struggle with these heresies, however, orthodox Christians were compelled to begin theological speculation on the relation of Christ to universal processes of creation and salvation, on the validity or non-validity of the body of Christian writings, on exactly what is the true, fixed, universal (catholic) doctrine. As a result of the work of IRENAEUS (130-200) and TERTULLIAN (155-225) and others by the middle of the third century the books in the New Testament were fixed and the first formulation of the Apostle's Creed was made.

New pressures on the doctrines of Christianity came when the educated classes were converted.

It is calculated that by 325 A.D. there were as many as ninety Christian sects extant. In the main, however, their differences had to do with disagreements about the unity of God, the freedom of the human will and the nature of Christ. Lesser differences centered on Church organization, discipline and ritual.

The greatest of these quarrels centered around the teachings of ARIUS (310-336) and ATHANASIUS (298-373). Arius denied the divinity of Christ, Christ was made of a substance similar with that of God, but not identical. Christ was created and therefore not eternal and not God. To this, Athanasius opposed the doctrine of the Trinity. The Trinity consisted of three persons: God, the Father Almighty, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and the Holy Ghost. Each of these three persons was an essential principle of a single substance. This fundamental issue was settled for the orthodox at the first ecumenical council called by Constantine in 325 A.D. and held in Nicea. The Nicene Creed there adopted favored the position of Athanasius.

Controversy did not end with adoption of the Nicene Creed. Nestorians raised the question, How could Christ at one and the same time have both a human and a divine nature at the time he was incarnate? How could Mary be the Mother of God if she were a human being? Pelagians denied that Adam's sin had affected the whole human race, man therefore could be sinless and could go to Heaven without being redeemed. Monophysites argued that Christ was God and never man. Each of these "heresies" found enough followers to create its own church and to persist in spite of severe persecution. For western Europe, the end of the era of theological controversy did establish a core of orthodox creed. This included the following dogmas, that

God is one substance and three persons (the Trinity);

Adam's sin of disobedience doomed the whole human race to corruption (the Fall);

God became man as Christ to redeem sinful man (the Incarnation);

God as Christ was miraculously born of the Virgin Mary (the Virgin Birth);

At one time Christ was both God and completely man (the Dual Nature of Christ);

God as Christ died as man to redeem the whole human race (the Atonement);

God as Christ rose from the grave to bring those who believe in Him immortality (the Resurrection);

God as Christ founded the Church as the only means of redemption (the Divine Foundation of the Church);

Christ will return in glory to judge the living and the dead (the Second Coming).

The Latin Church Fathers. The early Latin Church fathers (Lactantius, Ambrose, etc.) were more concerned with practical matters concerning the supremacy of the faith and ecclesiastical organization than with philosophical and theological speculation. During the fourth century, however, Latin Churchmen began to give more attention to the "theory" of their faith. AMBROSE (340-397), Bishop of Milan, wrote copiously to prove that Christian ethics were superior to pagan, that ecclesiastical authority is supreme over secular, that the Bible contains figurative and allegorical meaning, etc. JEROME (340-420) was a great scholar and his contribution to Latin Christianity was a translation of the Bible, known as the Vulgate, which became the accepted translation of the Roman Church. Ethically, Jerome leaned to severe, ascetic morality.

The greatest of all the Latin Church Fathers, however, was AUGUSTINE (354-430), the Bishop of Hippo. In his works *On The Trinity*, *Confessions*, and *The City of God*, he provided Catholic Christianity with its first all embracing synthesis. He sought to give final formulation to the relation of men to divine control and the relation of the Church to the salvation of men. In the course of his speculations, he formulated theories which embraced theology, philosophy, psychology, ethics, esthetics, etc. Not all of these theories have been accepted by the Roman Catholic Church but his contributions to the Christian world view of the fifth to twelfth centuries was immense.

THE FIRST CHRISTIAN SYNTHESIS

God was pure spirit—uncreated, unchangeable, omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent, immortal. He was perfect—holy, just, merciful, truthful. He was independent of all other beings. He was the Creator of all things and all purposes. He was One in substance and Three in persons—as the Father. He created the world and designed its activities, as Christ. He re-established relationship between fallen man and Himself, as Holy Ghost. He performed works of charity and love and grace. Signs of grace were many: speaking with wisdom, knowledge and “tongues”, the gifts of healing, miracle making, interpreting speech and discerning spirits. God was knowable—primarily through revelation for this gave man supernatural knowledge, then through introspection of the state of one’s heart and mind and lastly through reason which can demonstrate the presence of God in the design of Nature.

Creation. The orders of created beings were three: plants and animals, men and angels. The first were incapable of achieving immortality. The second had been originally created in the image of God—with reason, intelligence and immortality—but Adam’s sin brought death to the body and sin to the soul. Man nonetheless, could still attain to immortality if he used his free will to choose between good and evil, if he exercised his capacity for faith. Angels were arranged in orders or choirs:

- angels, archangels and principedoms
- powers, virtues and dominions
- thrones, seraphim and cherubim

Good angels aided God in working for man’s salvations, bad angels, led by Lucifer, were the enemies of man.

Redemption. Man could be redeemed if he atoned. In suffering death, Christ had atoned for Adam’s fall, man could share in this atonement and win redemption through the established Church and through fulfillment of its sacraments and through good works of faith, hope and charity. Sacraments were supernatural mysteries through baptism one’s original sin was cleansed and the way was opened to a spiritual life, through the Lord’s Supper one came into communion with Christ and prepared oneself for eternity.

Eschatology or Last Things. Christianity taught that there is a life after death for the souls of men. Each soul would undergo a last judgment. Souls free from sin would go to Heaven, live in supreme bliss, and enjoy the beatific vision or contemplation of God. Souls that were damned were sent to hell for eternal punishment. The unbaptized souls and those that were of men born before Christ became incarnate would dwell in limbo; while those that had committed venial sin were cleansed in purgatory. There was to be a Second Coming which would be heralded by celestial signs and earthly disaster, at this time Christ would judge the living and the dead and distribute rewards and punishment.

Ethics. God did not create evil. Evil is a privation of good that is an incomplete good or a failure of good to fulfil itself. God created man with free will, freedom that is, to choose to complete his nature or not. If man by free choice separates himself from his creator he sins. If man loves himself rather than God he sins. Adam’s fall doomed all mankind to sin from which there was no escape except through the grace of God. Sinful acts flowed from succumbing to temptation of the devil or giving way to one’s lower (animal) nature. In sinning man committed two kinds of acts: willful transgressions or mortal sins (pride, avarice, lust, sloth, murder, adultery, apostasy, etc.), and incidental transgressions or venial sins. To avoid sinning, man had to obey the moral law which derived from that revealed by Moses and that revealed by Christ. The purpose of the moral law was to point the way to union with God through purity of heart and active brotherly love. Signs of moral behavior were meekness, humility, obedience and virtuousness. There were three orders of virtues:

theological faith, hope and charity;
moral prudence, temperance, fortitude and justice;
religious belief, exercises of faith, prayer, performance of vows and duties.

Truth Revelation was a source of truth Through revelation God spoke to man Man received this revelation as a voice from a burning bush, through divine inspiration or by means of vision, trance dream etc. Scripture was revealed truth it could not contradict human reason the function of reason was to explain what appeared to be contradiction between revealed truth and experience Faith preceded understanding

Allegory was a source of truth. Allegory was an aid to discovering the meaning of revealed truth Thus, any Biblical verse might have a literal or historical meaning a moral significance not directly expressed, a prophetic declaration incorporated, or a revelation of life in the world after death Authority was a source of truth. Authority flowed from the need which arose often, to make a final decision between what was truth and what error At this time in Church history, authority proceeded from the Church council to the bishop Penalties for refusing to accept authoritative pronouncements were severe in the extreme Illumination was a source of truth Thus was the way of the mystic. One might rise to an illumination by various paths through quietism or the avoidance of all physical activity or through mortifying the flesh so that only the spiritual part remains or by ecstasy—the attainment of utter happiness through complete loss of the self

Philosophy Augustine placed philosophy into a handmaiden of theology. Plato was useful in defining God as a spiritual reality and Platonic Ideas or Forms became the emanations from the mind of God that became the things of the universe Aristotle's doctrine of essences as the material embodiments of forms were also employed to establish original emanations from the mind of God Aristotle's concept of the substance that underlay the diversity of things was utilized to resolve the problem of the Trinity The Neo-Platonic Logos was used to demonstrate the means by which things came into being from spiritual origins Stoic ideas of universal natural law became the distinctive markings of sinful and unwise behavior provided Christians with a sense of the conflict between spiritual and material the goodness of the one and the evil of the other Socratic rationalism was employed to demonstrate the existence of God Augustine reasoned that God must exist because creation demands a creator because there is evidence of design and purpose in the universe because mankind consents to the existence of God and

because thought itself is proof of the divine essence in mankind

Psychology Man's nature was inevitably examined by Christian thinkers of this early period for it was necessary to demonstrate the existence of a soul Evidence for the existence of a soul was found in the soul's activities—providing the body with life, making possible sensation perception, reasoning meditation, and aspiration the act of will and the like Augustine followed Aristotle in his belief that the soul had two parts: an irrational and rational The former was concerned with vital activities and impulses, the latter with memory, reasoning imagination and understanding Location of these activities within the body, however, produced a completely erroneous physiology Religious reasoning also produced theories of the nature of sleep as a kind of death of dreams as messages, of insanity as possession by demons and so forth In fact, most scientific data was given a moralistic interpretation Men read God's purposes into zoological biological, cosmological and historical data

Society Church and State The State was a necessary instrument to curb the corrupt tendencies of sinful man Social practices like marriage, property slavery law and government were intended as checks to violence greed and immorality The State obviously had divine sanction and it was the duty of men to obey But the rulers of the State were men As men, rulers were subject to the word of God as were all other men

The word of God was incorporated in the church to which all men, regardless of political or social status, belonged the Church then was clearly above the State in all matters coming within its jurisdiction (marriage morals, beliefs, etc.) Its priesthood was by nature a privileged class, obedient to a higher law What was more, the State was obliged to use its power against the enemies of the church whether these were pagans, Jews, heretics or schismatics (those who remained Christian but split from the Church) Early Christian emperors were most zealous in enforcing persecutions against pagans, Jews Manicheans, Montanists, Donatists and other groups and sects outside the Church

Economics By divine law property belonged to God by natural law, to all men, by positive law to some men and not to others. Private property was justified because of the sinfulness of men but it entailed responsibilities as well as rights. The use of private property had to be Christian in its intent Where property encouraged advance and self

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- theological: faith, hope and charity,
- moral: prudence, temperance, fortitude and justice,
- religious: belief, confession of faith, prayer, performance of vows and duties.

TEUTON, BYZANTINE AND MUSLIM

THE TEUTONS

North of the Roman Empire in Europe lay the land of the Teutons or the Germanic tribes. More to the east were the Goths, Vandals and Scandinavians to the west, the Franks the Alemanni the Burgundians the Frisians, the Anglo-Saxons and the Dutch. When the Romans first encountered them they were a primitive people. They dressed in animal skins, lived in crude huts, engaged in sheep-and-cattle herding and some primitive agriculture and used tools and weapons made of stone and iron.

Social Characteristics Teutonic social patterns were as primitive as their economic. The family was the most important social unit but it was severely patriarchal. The father had secured his wife by purchase or capture; he had unlimited authority over the children. He could sell into marriage or slavery both wife and children. Kinship was traced for the most part through the male and determined many of the Germanic customs, among them marriage purchase and blood feuds.

In time family kinship evolved into the tribe and some of the more savage practices were refined. Payment of compensation in goods replaced blood feuding; tribes regulated marriage practices; took over abandoned or illegitimate minors; supported the aged or needy; and arranged for defense against enemy attack.

German society was caste ridden; there were the nobility, the freemen, the semi-freemen and the slaves. Only the nobility and freemen could acquire property.

Religion Religion among the Teutons was primitively animistic; that is, the unseen world was peopled with spirits that accounted for such things as fertility, death, natural phenomena, war and peace, physical health and disease. These spirits were invested with the human characteristics of physical activity, pleasure and pain, thought and emotion. Freya was the goddess of fertility, Wotan or Odin of stormy weather, Thun of war, Thor of thunder. (It is from the names of these deities that we derive the names of the days Tuesday,

Wednesday, Thursday and Friday.) Spirits were either good or evil. From his abode in Valhalla, Thor led the good spirits against the evil. Man, caught in this eternal struggle between the two, had no choice but to buy the favor of the one and ward off the malevolence of the other by a carefully regulated system of rites and incantations. There was no priesthood among the early Teutons; the head males performed the services and sacrifices that were required.

Political Institutions During the nineteenth century it was the accepted belief among most historians that Anglo-American republicanism and democracy derived from the political practices of these early Germanic tribes. Closer examination shows this to be an exaggeration. The basis for this belief was the fact that among the Germanic tribes there existed the practice of submitting tribal problems to an assembly for decision. The assembly chose its kings or princes, declared war or made peace and acted as a kind of court in civil and criminal cases. This assembly, however, was dominated by a council of aristocrats who initiated legislation. Kings and princes had a military following, all of whom lived in their leader's house. Thus, has little of the republican or democratic about it; it was more closely related to the medieval institution of feudalism.

Roman and Teuton In the period of the Roman Empire scattered Germanic tribes coalesced into larger political units and began to press against the boundaries of the Empire. Chief among these were the Goths, the Franks, the Saxons, the Frisians, the Bavarians and the Thuringians. Land hunger and envy of the rich realm to the south were the primary driving forces. Entry into the Empire was at first made by the Germans through infiltration. As the Empire expanded, the Emperors began to employ German bands as allies within the Roman army. In the later Roman period whole tribes were granted admission into the Empire; provided they served as border guards. Many individual Germans rose to officer rank and were permitted to command large Roman forces; some rose even to high political position. Intermarriage between Roman and German became fairly common.

The "Barbarian" Invasions. As a result of this

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Social Christian charitable works were extensive. Church activity centered upon betterment of the lot of the poverty stricken, the poor, the widowed, the orphaned, the disabled and the sick. These were given food relief, work and medical care. Not only the stricken, but the homeless and wandering were also cared for and sheltered for the period of their stay.

Nor did charity end with relief. The church did its best to improve the conditions under which men labored as both freemen and slaves; it tried to introduce humane practices into master-servant relationships. Thus, while sanctioning slavery, it fought such practices as enslavement because of debt and immoral practices with female slaves.

EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

War against paganism included war against pagan arts. However, Christians employed literary forms in the effort to transmit religious doctrine and emotion to the masses.

Eventually, each of these literary arts incorporated pagan forms of literature. Thus the poem became the hymn and the Christian epic, the tale became the biographical account of the lives of saints, oratory became the sermon and exposition became exegesis (explanation of texts). Though on occasion the emotional content of the hymn, usually accompanied by music, raised it above creed into poetry, the occasions were rare. The epics and the lives of the saints are not primarily interesting as literature nor were they intended to be. They were instructional in purpose. Augustine's *Confessions* is the great exception; it is a highly personal account of an individual search for the meaning of life. *The Confessions* is a great classic in the Greco-Roman sense.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

There has been a considerable revival recently of interest in early Christian art as a result of irritations by the modern artists. The purposes of early Christian art were twofold: to tell a tale that pointed a moral and to symbolize the articles of faith. Christian artists cared little for naturalistic reproduction; careful copying of nature would give the wrong emphasis to their beliefs, namely, a *thus worldliness*. What they sought was an otherworldliness in its abstract and symbolic forms. It is precisely this abstraction and symbolism which attract the modern artist.

Earliest Christian painting was in the Catacombs and took the form of murals, frescoes and inscriptions. As churches were built, the painting arts were brought in as allies to architecture. The chief motifs in early Christian art were Biblical scenes, natural symbols (lambs and doves, leaves and fishes, etc.), priestly processions, saints and martyrs and the Christ image. Perspective was ignored, spiritual significance determined size, attitudes of piety, glory, penance became fixed, color took on symbolic meaning. Artists tried to fix eternity into their panels.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ARCHITECTURE

Church architecture evolved slowly by tentative stages. The first form of building was called a basilica and had no distinctive features. Then, in the East, experimentation began with the use of arch and column, the barrel vaulted roof, the dome placed on a square base, the dome placed on arches across the squares of the base, the apse, the portico, the nave and aisle, the semicircular apse containing the altar. By the 10th century the Western Church had made its selection of style: the building was to have the form of a cross, a long central aisle—the nave and two side aisles—a barrel vaulted roof with a dome and portico. Columns and arches were adorned with sculpture of figures and plants, spaces were filled with paintings or mosaics of Biblical motifs, Christ, saints and other religious images. Thus the interior of the church had a single purpose: to lift the heart upward to the dome of heaven and to keep heaven before the eyes of the congregation even when they were leveled. Though the purpose was religious, the result was art.

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Eventually, each of these literary arts incorporated pagan forms of literature. Thus the poem became the hymn and the Christian epic, the tale became the biographical account of the lives of saints, oratory became the sermon and exposition became exegesis (explanation of texts). Though on occasion the emotional content of the hymn, usually accompanied by music, raised it above creed into poetry, the occasions were rare. The epics and the lives of the saints are not primarily interesting as literature, nor were they intended to be. They were instructional in purpose. Augustine's *Confessions* is the great exception, it is a highly personal account of an individual search for the meaning of life. The *Confessions* is a great classic in the Greco-Roman sense.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

There has been a considerable revival recently of interest in early Christian art as a result of imitations by the modern artists. The purposes of early Christian art were twofold: to tell a tale that pointed a moral and to symbolize the articles of faith. Christian artists cared little for naturalistic reproduction, careful copying of nature would give the wrong emphasis to their beliefs; namely, a this-worldliness. What they sought was an otherworldliness in its abstract and symbolic forms. It is precisely this abstraction and symbolism which attract the modern artist.

Earliest Christian painting was in the Catacombs and took the form of murals, frescoes and inscriptions. As churches were built, the painting arts were brought in as allies to architecture. The chief motifs in early Christian art were Biblical scenes, natural symbols (lambs and doves, loaves and fishes, etc.), priestly processions, saints and martyrs and the Christ image. Perspective was ignored, spiritual significance determined size, attributes of piety, glory, penance became fixed, color took on symbolic meaning. Artists tried to fix eternity into their panels.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ARCHITECTURE

Church architecture evolved slowly by tentative stages. The first form of building was called a basilica and had no distinctive features. Then in the East experimentation began with the use of arch and column, the barrel vaulted roof, the dome placed on a square base, the dome placed on arches across the square. If the base, the apse, the portico, the nave and aisle, the semicircular apse containing the altar. By the sixth century the Western Church had made its election of style: the building was to have the form of a cross with a long central aisle—the nave and two side aisles, a barrel vaulted roof with a dome at the east end. Columns and arches were adorned with sculptural figures and plants, spaces were filled with painting or mosaics of Biblical motifs. Christ and other religious images. Thus the mission of the church had a single purpose: to lift the art upward to the dome of heaven, the kept the eyes of the congregation elevated. Though the purpose was religious, the result was art.

TEUTON, BYZANTINE AND MUSLIM

THE TEUTONS

North of the Roman Empire in Europe lay the land of the Teutons or the Germanic tribes. More to the east were the Goths, Vandals and Scandinavians to the west, the Franks, the Alemanni, the Burgundians, the Frisians, the Anglo-Saxons and the Dutch. When the Romans first encountered them they were a primitive people. They dressed in animal skins, lived in crude huts, engaged in sheep-and-cattle herding and some primitive agriculture and used tools and weapons made of stone and iron.

Social Characteristics. Teutonic social patterns were as primitive as their economic. The family was the most important social unit but it was severely patriarchal. The father had secured his wife by purchase or capture; he had unlimited authority over the children. He could sell into marriage or slavery both wife and children. Kinship was traced for the most part through the male and determined many of the Germanic customs among them: marriage purchase and blood feuds.

In time family kinship evolved into the tribe and some of the more savage practices were refined. Payment of compensation in goods replaced blood feuding; tribes regulated marriage practices, took over abandoned or illegitimate minors, supported the aged or needy and arranged for defense against enemy attack.

German society was caste ridden: there were the nobility, the freemen, the semi-freemen and the slaves. Only the nobility and freemen enjoyed political and legal rights and could own land. Semi-freemen were without these privileges but could contract marriages and acquire property.

Religion. Religion among the Teutons was primitively animistic, that is, the unseen world was peopled with spirits that accounted for such things as fertility, death, natural phenomena, war and peace, physical health and disease. These spirits were invested with the human characteristics of physical activity, pleasure and pain, thought and emotion. Freya was the goddess of fertility, Wotan or Odin of stormy weather, Thun of war, Thor of thunder (it is from the names of these deities that we derive the names of the days Tuesday,

Wednesday, Thursday and Friday). Spirits were either good or evil. From his abode in Valhalla, Thor led the good spirits against the evil. Man caught in this eternal struggle between the two had no choice but to buy the favor of the one and ward off the malevolence of the other by a carefully regulated system of rites and incantations. There was no priesthood among the early Teutons; the head males performed the services and sacrifices that were required.

Political Institutions. During the nineteenth century it was the accepted belief among most historians that Anglo-American republicanism and democracy derived from the political practices of these early Germanic tribes. Closer examination shows this to be an exaggeration. The basis for this belief was the fact that among the Germanic tribes there existed the practice of submitting tribal problems to an assembly for decision. The assembly chose its kings or princes, declared war or made peace and acted as a kind of court in civil and criminal cases. This assembly, however, was dominated by a council of aristocrats who initiated legislation. Kings and princes had a military following all of whom lived in their leader's house. Thus has little of the republican or democratic about it; it was more closely related to the medieval institution of feudalism.

Roman and Teuton. In the period of the Roman Empire, scattered Germanic tribes coalesced into larger political units and began to press against the boundaries of the Empire. Chief among these were the Goths, the Franks, the Saxons, the Frisians, the Bavarians and the Thuringians. Land hunger and envy of the rich realm to the south were the primary driving forces. Entry into the Empire was at first made by the Germans through infiltration. As the Empire expanded the Emperors began to employ German bands as allies within the Roman army. In the later Roman period whole tribes were granted admission into the Empire provided they served as border guards. Many individual Germans rose to officer rank and were permitted to command large Roman forces; some rose even to high political positions. The

commingling, the Teutons underwent civilizing—just as the Romans underwent barbarizing. At the end of the fourth century, however, the pressure of the Germans could no longer be resisted. The Empire was exhausted, its frontier defenses were sapped, Germanic tribes were both inside and outside the Empire, additional pressure now came from the East from the Slavs and Huns. The Huns—an army of wild riding Chinese—were the immediate cause for the Teutonic invasion of the Empire. The East Goths (Ostrogoths) had been defeated by the Huns, the West Goths (Visigoths) asked for sanctuary within the Empire. Emperor Valens granted them permission to cross the Danube in 376. Over a million Visigoths moved in. Exploited and abused by the Romans, they turned on their hosts and in the significant Battle of Adrianople, 378, defeated them. Thirty years later, under the leadership of ALARIC (408) the Visigoths invaded Italy and took Rome in 410. After plundering the city, they moved on and finally settled in Spain and southern France.

Close behind the Visigoths were the Vandals. They, too, moved into Spain but were forced out by the Visigoths. They went overseas to North Africa. By capturing Carthage they established their hold on the Mediterranean Sea. In 455 they too sacked Rome. Their domination lasted until they were destroyed by the Byzantine general, Belisarius. Thus, then, was the general pattern of occupation. Burgundians were in the upper regions of the Rhone by 440, Bavarians settled in Pannonia about the same time, Angles, Jutes and Saxons took the westerly route into England, the Lombards followed the line of the Elbe and in the sixth century, invaded northern Italy.

The Teutonic destiny of Europe was threatened most by the Tartar-Mongolian Huns. After almost eliminating the Ostrogoths from history, they pursued the Visigoths along the lower reaches of the Danube. Soon they were threatening Rome, but the Emperor Theodosius II was able to buy off ATTILA, the Hun leader. Having spared Rome, Attila began a westward march that carried him into Gaul. There, however, in a turning-point battle at Chalons (451) the Roman general Aetius supported by the Visigoths stopped Attila and forced him to retreat. Attila's death in 453 ended the Hunnish menace. It was a narrow escape for Europe. Defeat of the Huns paved the way for a brief reunification of the Roman Empire under Theodoric, but it was only a last gasp.

Clovis and the Franks. Between the sixth and the ninth centuries Europe was dominated by the

Franks, a Gaulish people, whose power was first established by their leader CLOVIS (486-511). The Franks were conquerors more than invaders, for they never lost contact with their home base in northern France and Germany. From this base they expanded until they held most of Gaul and the land on both banks of the Rhine. In the course of this conquest, Clovis created in part the concept of kingship; he established orderly processes of government, issued decrees and enforced them with his army and supplied a measure of justice through himself. More important for the future was the fact that Clovis was the first of the great Germanic leaders to adopt Christianity in its orthodox form, in fact he became the military arm of the Roman Church in its war against the Arian heresy, a heresy freely adopted by most of the German leaders before Clovis.

Teutonic-Romanic Amalgam. The merging of Germanic and Romanic elements produced new institutions, a fusion of both. Monarchy featured the rule of the German kings, however, there was a new tendency toward dynastic succession. The territory ruled was regarded as a personal possession to be transmitted to one's descendants. Latin remained the official tongue, Roman administrative apparatus was retained as were the forms of local government. The code of law remained, for the most part, barbaric.

Germans fastened the economic institutions of declining Rome upon Europe. Rulers took for themselves great estates and villas along with the resident tenant farmers and slaves. A few contacts with trade on the Mediterranean were maintained, but this declined sharply from its height during the Roman Empire. Industry languished and the great Roman cities became increasingly depopulated.

With the passing centuries the concept of Roman imperial power passed. Arianism as an opposition creed disappeared. The Germans were increasingly Christianized and Latinized as a substratum to this fusion, however, were the Roman institutions that persisted not only in the "romance" languages that were beginning to emerge but in the Roman law which underlay both church and secular law, in the dream of a universal empire that lingered on, particularly inside the Church and in the political institutions that never quite disappeared.

THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

Under the impact of the Barbarian Invasions, Roman civilization in Western Europe crumbled.

and the people of that area had to evolve new forms of civilization in order to survive. Collectively, these new forms became the Feudal System.

The situation in Eastern Europe and Asia Minor was quite different. In an effort to halt the decline in the Roman Empire, Diocletian (285-304) had divided its administration among four co-rulers. For his own seat of government Diocletian selected the eastern part of the Empire, a part which took in Asia, Thrace and Asia Minor. Constantine (306-337) had, in 324, built a new capital city, Constantinople, for the whole Empire. Rome's significance as a capital of the Empire declined. In 395 Theodosius I officially divided the Empire into two legal divisions. As pressure from the Teutons mounted, Emperor Honorius removed the western capital from Rome to Ravenna. It was from this site that Odoacer, an Ostrogoth, removed Romulus Augustulus in 476. This removal dropped the curtain on the Roman Empire in the West, but that in the East continued strong for 1000 years more. Rome fell, but the Roman Empire had simply shifted its locus.

A Mixture of Civilizations. The substance of the Empire changed with this change in place. It became predominantly Greek in language and culture. Greek became the language of the court and the schools. Greek classics formed the basis of the curriculum of the schools. Greek art influenced Byzantine architecture, painting and sculpture to a marked degree. Thus Greek elements, however, were grafted upon the Roman institutions which were retained chiefly: the legal and administrative systems, the army and navy, commercial practices, the system of taxation, the engineering and design of the cities. Moreover, that Rome had

and ceremony in court and church, increased emotionalism in art, mysticism in religion and pessimism in philosophy. Thus the Roman Empire became the Greco-Roman Oriental Empire, collectively the Byzantine Empire (from Byzantium, on whose site Constantinople was built).

Political Development. Expansion-decline revival-expansion cycles marked the epochs of Byzantine political history. In the fourth century Teutonic invasions caused the Eastern Empire to totter along with the Western. In 378 the Visigoths killed Emperor Valens at the Battle of Adrianople, a century later Theodoric the Ostrogoth, almost took Constantinople. The city's impregnable posi-

tion saved the Empire. In the sixth century, Justinian the Great led a revived imperial corps out of Constantinople in a majestic effort to retake the entire Empire of old. His brilliant generals, Belisarius and Narses, took almost all of North Africa, the Balkans and Italy. Further conquests were then made eastward into Asia Minor. After Justinian's death the Empire crumbled under blows delivered by barbarian Slavs, Avars (a Mongolian people), Bulgars and Mohammedan Arabs and by the eighth century it had shrunk to its smallest size. Then, under Leo III, the Byzantine forces broke the Muslim power and regained control of the Mediterranean Sea. Leo's demise was followed by further decline until in the ninth century Basil I, ably assisted by Generals Nicephorus Phocas and John Tzimiskes, once again defeated the Bulgars, Russians and Muslims. This was repeated by Basil II in the tenth century.

The most serious threat to Byzantium, and, indeed to all Christendom, came in the eleventh century with the rise to power of the Seljuk Turks. Recognizing the threat the Christians of the West came to the aid of the beleaguered Byzantines. But in 1204 western Crusaders themselves occupied and sacked Constantinople. This blow considerably weakened the Byzantine kingdom, but it lingered on for two centuries. Finally, in 1453 the Ottomans

and had to wait four centuries to regain it partially.

BYZANTINE CONTRIBUTIONS TO WESTERN CIVILIZATION

Absolutism. The influence of Byzantine civilization upon Western Europe and indeed upon world civilization, is in the process of current reappraisal by historians. For decades it had been dismissed—following the lead of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*—as of no consequence in the history of western civilization. This estimate of an otherwise able historian was false in the extreme. From the Byzantine Empire came the concept of divine right absolutism that prevailed in Europe during the 17th and 18th centuries. Diocletian first established an Oriental despotism in the Roman Empire in imitation of Persian models, thus, men prostrated themselves before him as they approached the throne. Constantine continued this practice and added Christian religious overtones to it. By the time of JUSTINIAN THE GREAT (527-565) the practice

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With the passing centuries the concept of Roman imperial power and of Arianism as an oppositional creed disappeared. The Germans were increasingly Christianized and latinized. As a substratum to this fusion, however, were the Roman institutions that persisted not only in the romance languages that were beginning to emerge but in the Roman law which underlay both church and secular law, in the dream of a universal empire that lingered on, particularly in the Church and in the political institutions that never quite disappeared.

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Society Byzantine society was riven by a strange contradiction. On the one hand the monkish recluse and ascetic was the social ideal. Men who gave up the world to retire to some monastery on Mount Athos and to live by strict rules were greatly admired. Patriarch and bishop were usually chosen from monastic ranks. Gifts and endowments were showered upon the monasteries. On the other hand, Byzantium produced one of the most corrupt and immoral societies in the history of civilization.

Wealthy landlords and merchants made up the elite. For the first time in history, the tradesman and manufacturer was freely admitted into the aristocracy. Both of these types of nobility were superbly cultured. For the Byzantines placed a high value on liberal education. Teachers were well trained and well-paid. Education began at 6 with instruction in reading, writing, spelling and grammar. Homer and the classical poets were taught early and large sections of these works were committed to memory. From 7 to 14 adolescents were trained in rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy and philosophy. Thereafter a student might enter a university and pursue law, medicine, theology, classical literature, advanced mathematics or advanced philosophy. At all levels religion was taught by trained monks.

BYZANTINE CULTURE

Scholarship Byzantine scholarship was prestige rather than treasure. Considerable energy was devoted to the collection of the best texts available of the works of Greek scholars and artists to writing learned commentaries upon these texts to making digests of them for easy memorization, to cataloguing works for libraries to the editing of encyclopedias and anthologies. Some originality

appeared in the works of JOHN OF DAMASCUS (8th c.) who is considered by some to be the 'father of Scholasticism' because he attempted a reconciliation of Aristotle and the Scriptures, and in the work of NICOLAUS PSEUDUS (11th c.) who attempted a reconciliation of the thought of Plato and Aristotle. But this is a meager output for 1000 years of existence.

Literature Secularity was equally characteristic of Byzantine literary efforts. Writers composed in Attic Greek which was no longer the language of the people. Their styles were elaborate, rhetorical and artificial. Most of their writing was theological disputation. Only Procopius in the field of history and Romanos in poetry achieved some stature as literary artists.

Art Byzantine contributions to art were immense.

In the fields of art they drew upon a wealth of source material. From the early Christians they took their themes and symbols from the Greeks the principles of balance and clarity, from the Romans skill in engineering the arch and vault and in using marble, cement, stone, fabric and jewel from the Orientals, color, mosaic, grandeur and mystery.

The Church of Hagia Sophia (6th c.) was the masterpiece of Byzantine art and architecture. It rose 139 feet to the high point of its 107 foot diameter central dome—a dome immense enough to house forty windows at its base. This height was achieved by brilliant use of compounded pillars, arches and vaults which rested upon a cruciform base. The relationship of dome to arch and vault was engineered (for support, stress and strain) to perfection. Hagia Sophia was intended as a symbol of the interior life of man and therefore the exterior of the structure was kept bare and unattractive. However, glory itself burst upon the viewer as he stepped inside for light poured in through the dome-windows upon masses of blue and gold decoration upon richly colored mosaic upon mosaic upon marble facings and sculptured graceful, elaborate columns and pillars upon abundant gold leaf and tinted glass and sparkling gems. The interior height was breath-taking. When it was completed, Justinian remarked "I have surpassed thee, O Solomon." He was not boasting.

Mosaic was preferred over painting by the Byzantine artists. These artists specialized in the "stained glass attitude" that is the figure of Christ or the Madonna without a touch of realism. Conventional poses—exaggerated and distorted—were valued to secure eternal effects of piety or humility or any of the other religious virtues. The Byzantine

was institutionalized. The ruler of the Byzantine Empire ruled without check. He was God's regent on earth, his acts had to be accepted as divinely inspired, to oppose his decrees was to commit sin. To match his "divinity" the Byzantine Emperor produced a court unequalled in history for grandeur and splendor.

Church and State. The Greek Catholic Church became an arm of the state. The Emperor was the titular head of the Church, he was the *direct* representative of God. His rule over the Church, however, was indirect. The direct ruler was the Patriarch of Constantinople who was chosen from a list of three candidates submitted to him by a synod of metropolitans. If none of these candidates pleased the emperor, he substituted his own. Church bishops resided at court as a Holy Synod. Thus Emperor and Patriarch cooperated in producing combined politico-religious policies. In a sense this union of politics and religion was a reflection of popular opinion in Constantinople. The Byzantine masses, unable to give vent to political protest, turned their criticism into religious channels. It was a contemporary by-word in Constantinople that the Byzantine butcher and baker would and could, at the drop of a hat, discuss complicated theological aspects on the Arian creed, the use of leavened versus unleavened bread in the Mass, etc. Inevitably sharp dissension characterized Byzantine religion, dissensions that created "parties" within the Empire and eventually forced an important schism with Western Catholicism.

Schism. Eastern ecclesiastical practices and beliefs had begun early to diverge from those of Roman Catholicism. Latin became universal in the Western Church, the Eastern Church, on the other hand, permitted the use of Latin, Greek or vernacular (the popular language)—depending upon the composition of the parish. In the East parish priests could marry before they were ordained, civil servants could be given bishoprics because of their administrative talents, regular clergy were preferred over secular for advancement to higher positions, church ritual was far more elaborate and Orientalized, there was less stress on the New Testament and on the personality of Christ, religious dissension was more frequent and more bitter and more violent.

These differences between East and West were sharply emphasized in the dispute that arose over the use of religious images—the Iconoclastic Controversy (725-813). Some of the purists among the Byzantines felt that the use of icons (carved and painted religious figures) had become idola-

trous and superstitious. Large numbers of people, they protested, had begun to invest the icons with miraculous powers and so they kissed them, prostrated themselves before them, lit candles to them, and the like. Emperor Leo III agreed with this point of view and forbade the use of icons in the East and tried to have them banished in the West as well. Byzantine monks rallied to the defense of retention of the icons and organized a religious party opposed to the Emperor and his iconoclastic party. This was in effect a political protest. The Emperor, ruler by divine right, was accused of an abuse of his arbitrary power, of denying Christ's personality, the Emperor in turn accused the monks of deserting from industry, agriculture and the armed forces to enjoy the cloistered life. The icon party won. In the course of the struggle, however, relations between the West and East worsened.

Rome disapproved of these hairsplitting theological dissensions. No matter how pressed, the Greeks refused to accept the Petrine Doctrine of papal supremacy. The whole atmosphere of Greek Catholic practices was now foreign to Roman prelates. The inevitable came in 1054. The Roman pope pronounced Greek Catholics as excommunicated, the Constantinople Patriarch excommunicated the Roman pope. Religious unity was ended.

Economic Institutions. Byzantine economic practices profoundly affected the course of economic development in Europe. They kept alive and extended the basic industries which had been developed in the course of Greco-Roman civilization. These had virtually disappeared in the West. Leather and metal trades, fashioning of precious stones and their settings, the textile industry featuring silks and brocades, the carpet and rug industry, dye and glass manufactures—these were some of the 'luxury' items manufactured in the large Byzantine cities for the export trade.

Continuation of Roman trading practices was the second contribution of Byzantium to world economic civilization. Byzantium kept open the lanes to the Far East and the silks and spices and drugs that originated in that area of the world. Trade route to the Far East—the overland route by way of the Black and Caspian Seas, the Syrian-Red Sea route mostly by water, the overland Syria-Tigris-Euphrates-Persian Gulf water route—were kept open all during the Dark Ages in Europe. Maritime power, both merchant and naval, was highly developed.

Finally, Byzantium set the pattern for economic centralization under the control and supervision of the State. Manufacturers were organized into pro-

ducers' guilds, laborers into workers' guilds. Control of both guilds was in the hands of the State bureaucracy which promulgated codes of practice for each. Thus manufacturers were regulated in the prices they charged, the kind of raw materials they could use, the quantity and quality of the goods they manufactured, the areas of distribution and the like. Workers were regulated in the amount of wages they could receive, their type and terms of employment, and the like. The State itself owned and operated dye, textile, mineral, and armament concerns. Agriculture was, for the most part, unsupervised with the exception that in the fourth century the emperors fastened serfdom, a form of semi-slavery, upon farm laborers employed on the estates of both nobility and Church.

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Church and State. The Greek Catholic Church became an arm of the state. The Emperor was the titular head of the Church, he was the *direct* representative of God. His rule over the Church, however, was indirect. The direct ruler was the Patriarch of Constantinople who was chosen from a list of three candidates submitted to him by a synod of metropolitans. If none of these candidates pleased the emperor, he substituted his own. Church bishops resided at court as a Holy Synod. Thus Emperor and Patriarch cooperated in producing combined politico-religious policies. In a sense this union of politics and religion was a reflection of popular opinion in Constantinople. The Byzantine masses, unable to give vent to political protest, turned their criticism into religious channels. It was a contemporary by-word in Constantinople that the Byzantine butcher and baker would and could, at the drop of a hat discuss complicated theological aspects on the Anan creed, the use of leavened versus unleavened bread in the Mass, etc. Inevitably sharp dissension characterized Byzantine religion; dissensions that created "parties" within the Empire and eventually forced an important schism with Western Catholicism.

Schism. Eastern ecclesiastical practices and beliefs had begun early to diverge from those of Roman Catholicism. Latin became universal in the Western Church, the Eastern Church on the other hand permitted the use of Latin, Greek or vernacular (the popular language)—depending upon the composition of the parish. In the East parish priests could marry before they were ordained; civil servants could be given bishoprics because of their administrative talents; regular clergy were preferred over secular for advancement to higher positions; church ritual was far more elaborate and Orientalized; there was less stress on the New Testament and on the personality of Christ; religious dissension was more frequent and more bitter and more violent.

These differences between East and West were sharply emphasized in the dispute that arose over the use of religious images—the Iconoclastic Controversy (725-843). Some of the purists among the Byzantines felt that the use of icons (carved and painted religious figures) had become idolatrous

and superstitious. Large numbers of people, they protested, had begun to invest the icons with miraculous powers and so they banded them, prostrated themselves before them, lit candles to them, and the like. Emperor Leo III agreed with this point of view and forbade the use of icons in the East and tried to have them banished in the West as well. Byzantine monks rallied to the defense of retention of the icons and organized a rebellious party opposed to the Emperor and his iconoclast party. This was in effect a political protest. The Emperor, ruler by divine right, was accused of an abuse of his arbitrary power, of denying Christ's personality, the Emperor in turn accused the monks of deserting from industry, agriculture and the armed forces to enjoy the cloistered life. The icon party won. In the course of the struggle, however, relations between the West and East worsened.

Rome disapproved of these hairsplitting theological dissensions. No matter how pressed, the Greeks refused to accept the Petrine Doctrine of papal supremacy. The whole atmosphere of Greek Catholic practices was now foreign to Roman prelates. The inevitable came in 1054. The Roman pope pronounced Greek Catholics as excommunicated, the Constantinople Patriarch excommunicated the Roman pope. Religious unity was ended.

Economic Institutions. Byzantine economic practices profoundly affected the course of economic development in Europe. They kept alive and extended the basic industries which had been developed in the course of Greco-Roman civilization. These had virtually disappeared in the West. Leather and metal trades, fashioning of precious stones and their settings, the textile industry, featuring silks and brocades, the carpet and rug industry, dye and glass manufactures, these were some of the luxury items manufactured in the large Byzantine cities for the export trade.

Continuation of Roman trading practices was the second contribution of Byzantium to world economic civilization. Byzantium kept open the lanes to the Far East and the silks and spices and drugs that circulated in that area of the world. Trade routes to the Far East: the overland route by way of the Black and Caspian Seas, the Syrian-Red Sea route north by water, the overland Syria-Tigris-Euphrates-Persian Gulf water route—were kept open all during the Dark Ages in Europe. Virtually no power, both merchant and naval, was highly developed.

Finally Byzantium set the pattern for economic centralization. For the control and supervision of the State Manufactures were organized into pro-

ducers' guilds; laborers into workers' guilds. Control of both guilds was in the hands of the State bureaucracy which promulgated codes of practice for each. Thus, manufacturers were regulated in the prices they charged, the kind of raw materials they could use, the quantity and quality of the goods they manufactured, the areas of distribution, and the like. Workers were regulated in the amount of wages they could receive, their type and terms of employment, and the like. The State itself owned and operated dye, textile, mineral, and armament concerns. Agriculture was, for the most part, unsupervised with the exception that in the fourth century the emperors fastened serfdom, a form of semi-slavery, upon farm laborers employed on the estates of both nobility and Church.

Society. Byzantine society was riven by a strange contradiction. On the one hand, the monkish recluse and ascetic was the social ideal. Men who gave up the world to retire to some monastery on Mount Athos and to live by strict rules were greatly admired. Patriarch and bishop were usually chosen from monastic ranks, gifts and endowments were showered upon the monasteries. On the other hand, Byzantium produced one of the most corrupt and immoral societies in the history of civilization.

Wealthy landlords and merchants made up the elite. For the first time in history the tradesman and manufacturer was freely admitted into the aristocracy. Both of these types of nobility were superbly cultured, for the Byzantines placed a high value on liberal education. Teachers were well-trained and well-paid. Education began at 6 with instruction in reading, writing, spelling and grammar. Homer and the classical poets were taught early and large sections of these works were committed to memory. From 7 to 18 adolescents were trained in rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy and philosophy. Thereafter, a student might enter a university and pursue law, medicine, theology, classical literature, advanced mathematics or advanced philosophy. At all levels religion was taught by trained monks.

BYZANTINE CULTURE

Scholarship. Byzantine scholarship was preservative rather than creative. Considerable energy was devoted to the collection of the best texts available of the works of Greek scholars and artists; to writing learned commentaries upon these texts; to making digests of them for easy memorization; to cataloguing works for libraries, to the editing of encyclopedias and anthologies. Some originality

appeared in the works of JOHN OF NIMASCEUS (8th c.) who is considered by some to be the "father of Scholasticism" because he attempted a reconciliation of Aristotle and the Scriptures; and in the work of MICHAEL PSELLUS (11th c.) who attempted a reconciliation of the thought of Plato and Aristotle. But this is a meager output for 1,000 years of existence.

Literature. Sterility was equally characteristic of Byzantine literary efforts. Writers composed in Attic Greek which was no longer the language of the people; their styles were elaborate, rhetorical and artificial; most of their writing was theological disputation. Only Procopius in the field of History and Romanos in poetry achieved some stature as literary artists.

Art. Byzantine contributions to art were immense.

In the fields of art they drew upon a wealth of source material. From the early Christians they took their themes and symbols; from the Greeks the principles of balance and clarity; from the Romans skill in engineering the arch and vault and in using marble, cement, stone, fabric and jewels; from the Orientals, color, mosaic, grandeur and mystery.

The Church of Hagia Sophia (6th c.) was the masterpiece of Byzantine art and architecture. It rose 179 feet to the high point of its 107-foot-diameter central dome, a dome immense enough to house forty windows at its base. This height was achieved by brilliant use of compounded pillars, arches and vaults which rested upon a cruciform base; the relationship of dome to arch and vault was engineered (for support, stress and strain) to perfection. Hagia Sophia was intended as a symbol of the interior life of man and therefore the exterior of the structure was kept bare and unattractive. However, glory itself burst upon the viewer as he stepped inside, for light poured in through the dome-windows upon masses of blue and gold decoration, upon richly colored mosaic upon mosaic, upon marble facings and sculptured, graceful, elaborate columns and pillars, upon abundant gold-leaf and tinted glass and sparkling gems. The interior height was breath-taking. When it was completed, Justinian remarked, "I have surpassed thee, O Solomon." He was not boasting.

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MOHAMMEDAN CIVILIZATION

During and after the 7th century A.D. there rose up between the Byzantine civilization and that in Western Europe a new civilization which originated in the teachings of MOHAMMED (569-632). This civilization was both a threat and an inspiration to western culture. On the one hand it was a warning and conquering civilization; on the other it was an accumulative and transmutative one—accumulative of the best in the old and current cultures and transmutative through its extraordinary breadth of trade and commerce. Of the three civilizations that existed during the medieval period of European history, the Muslim was by far the most superior.

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city on the trade route from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea and the center of an area in which dwelt Bedouin, Berber, or Arabian tribes. The city itself was cosmopolitan. Visitors from many lands brought with them variable winds of doctrine which started considerable intellectual ferment there. Arabians were still for the most part, in the polytheistic stage of religious development. Their religious interest centered in Mecca because it contained the Kabah, a black stone sacred to them. A small minority of Arabs had already conceived of a single, supreme deity—Allah. It was Mohammed's destiny to elevate Allah above all other gods.

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Mohammedan Conquests. ABU BAKR (632-4) and OMAR (634-44) established the first Muslim caliphates, literally successors of the prophet. Both these caliphs preached a Holy War to extend Muslim supremacy over Arabia. Within a year Arabian opposition was reduced and offensives were begun against Syria and Persia. Neither Persia nor Byzantium offered much opposition to this offensive for they had been exhausted by war with one another. Syria and Mesopotamia having been conquered, Caliph Omar took Egypt in 642 and Persia

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Divided Empire Brilliant as conquerors, the Muslims proved unable to weld their heterogeneous lands into a single imperial form. The result was that in the latter half of the eighth century a number of independent Muslim states were created. In Spain the Caliphate of Cordova was set up under the remnants of the Omniad Dynasty, in the city of Baghdad the Abbassid Dynasty created a second caliphate still a third was founded by the Fatimids.

Many states and enlightened. Few conquerors have been more generous to their conquered. With the exception of a compulsory tax fairly levied and efficiently collected, the conquered were free to move to believe as they wished and to take advantage of the many commercial and cultural opportunities available.

Of the many peoples in the Muslim empire two predominated—the Arabs and the Turks. During the first period of conquest it was the Arab or Saracenic element that prevailed (7th to 11th c.). In the eleventh century the Seljuk Turks came to power. It was they who held off the Christian Crusaders. When the Mongols under Genghis Khan crushed them, the Ottoman Turks rose to take their place. It was these Turks who successfully overthrew the Byzantine Empire in 1453.

Islam Islam as taught by Mohammed and recorded in the Koran was a severely monotheistic faith. There is only one God, Allah, and Mohammed is His prophet. Since the Christian Trinity was viewed as polytheistic the orientation of Islam was to the Old Testament not the New. The Koran cited the Pentateuch and the Psalms with approval; it accepted the revelation given to Moses as divinely inspired; it considered all of the Old Testament patriarchs as inspired by Allah; but above all it claimed to have revived the uncorrupted religion of Abraham and to have derived from Abraham's son Ishmael. Islam rejected Christ's divinity but acknowledged that Christ was a divinely inspired prophet. Through Moses and Christ a partial revelation of the true faith was given to mankind. Now through Mohammed the revelation was made complete.

The Faith Allah was absolute—one, omnipotent, omnipresent, omnipotent the single creative force in the universe, the agent behind and within every event in the universe. Muslims say "It is the will of Allah. I am content with His decree."

Allah was pure spirit—no image could reproduce Him and image worship of any kind was idolatrous. Between Allah and His creature Man were mediating angels and devils. Angels were the forces of Good, God's messengers, the source of prophecy, recorders of man's activities, receivers of the souls of the dead, and witnesses at man's Last Judgment. Devils were those who rebelled against Allah and continued their rebellion by leading men to sin and damnation.

Of great importance to Islamites was the Last Judgment of all mankind. It would open with a blare of trumpets, the heavens would gape, physical destruction would strike the earth, graves would open and all the living and the dead would rise to heaven to be judged. The blessed would be sent on upward to Paradise where there were gardens and running waters, lovely maidens and abundant food and drink. The damned would be sent below to hell to suffer unspeakable tortures for eternity. It behooved believers, therefore, to abide by the injunctions of the Prophet concerning the right way to blessedness.

The Right Way Islam demanded set forms of prayers. In the course of the day there were to be five separate prayers. Before each, the worshippers were to wash their hands, face and feet with water or sand, face Mecca and recite their prayers in

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World History Made Simple

Arabic On Friday at noon, the faithful would gather in the Mosque (temple) for special prayer, there the *Imam* or prayer leader would conduct the service. Islam had no priesthood. They followed the leadership of those who were obviously consecrated and learned in the ways of Allah and the Koran. Islam had no sacraments. The relationship between God and Man was direct and unmediated. The right way was also through almsgiving. This took the form of a religious tax, a "loan to Allah" which Allah would repay manifold. Monies collected through alms were set aside for charitable and religious purposes only.

The right way was by observance of the month of *Ramadan*—a month of fasting for no food or drink could enter the mouth of the faithful between sunrise and sunset. The right way was by a *pilgrimage* (made at least once in a lifetime) to Mecca where one might meet and commune with all one's brothers in the faith from all over the world. Finally, the right way was unqualified acceptance of the basic creed "There is only one God, Allah, and Mohammed is His prophet."

It is important to note how simple and direct was the faith of Islam—without complicated dogma, without an hierarchical priesthood, without an extensive ecclesiastical machinery, its simplicity and directness accounted in part for its tremendous success as a missionary faith among the poor, illiterate and downtrodden.

Taboo and Injunction As in many other religions, Islamites were enjoined against certain actions. They were forbidden to use wine or pork, to gamble, to collect usury, to make graven images, or to engage in crimes like murder, theft, slander, etc. Islam was an ethical faith; it stressed right living by means of the virtues of temperance, humility, tolerance, generosity, etc. Courage was the required personality characteristic of all Islamites for they were, through their faith, pledged to a Holy War against infidels and he who died in a Holy War was insured immortality in Paradise. Certain aspects of Islam were permissive where danger might ensue, prayer and fasting could be relaxed without fear of punishment, men could take four wives and an unlimited number of concubines—if they could afford them.

Political Forms Muslim law proceeded from the Koran, political and religious rule were completely merged. Allah ruled through caliphs. Caliphs were, therefore, divine-right kings absolute in their power but for one thing—they could not violate the precepts of the Koran. The Koran thus became the written constitution of the Muslim

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Western Europe was bound to feel the effects of Muslim commercial expansion. Through Spain particularly, Europeans made their acquaintance with Far Eastern spices, dyes and unguents, from the Muslims the Europeans acquired knowledge of the compass (first discovered by the Chinese c. 1093 A.D.) stories of faraway places abounding in gold and silver silks and spices were brought back by Muslim traders, explorers and travelers and circulated by word of mouth through Europe.

MOSLEM CONTRIBUTIONS TO CULTURE

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respect for the accumulated cultural heritage of the ancient Greeks, the Hindus and the Chinese.

Baghdad became the first great center of Muslim learning. Here were gathered scholars who devoted themselves to translating into Arabic the works of Plato, Aristotle, Euclid et al and the mathematical treatises of the Hindus. Arabic translation of Hindu mathematical lore produced Arabic numerals; the employment of zero in the number series, algebra etc. When, in the 10th century, Cordoba in Spain became the cultural center, it was visited by many Christian and Jewish scholars who brought this "new learning" back into Europe.

Scholarship. Muslim culture was basically one of collection, compilation, translation, editing, commentary upon and publication of the great works of other peoples. The unique destiny of the Muslims was to set established learning into circulation for other people to use creatively in mathematics, arithmetic, algebra, geometry and trigonometry, in astronomy, instruments for observation and records of celestial movements—the astrolabe, the sextant, the observatory and the concepts of longitude, latitude, chronology and calendar; in physics, studies in optics and the use in these studies of prisms, mirrors, lenses etc., in chemistry, familiarity with such products as alum, sal ammoniac, mercury, chloride, alcohol and the like, in medicine, Hippocratic and Galenic practices, clinical study and surgery.

Cr
 Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) made one of the first modern efforts to recapture the past by an examination of the evidence in sources of the past. But Khaldun did not limit his examination of past records to religious or political documents; instead he related history to geography, anthropology and sociology, as well as to religion and politics. It took centuries before western Europe caught up with the ideals of Khaldun's historical research.

In philosophy Muslims revived and extended Aristotelianism. One of the profoundest of the Aristotelian scholars was Ibn Rushd (1126-1198)—known to Europeans as Averroes. His impact on European thought was through the Christian philosophers Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas and through the Jewish philosopher Moses Maimonides.

Literature. Arabic poets exploited all the known facets of poetry and produced some of the world's greatest love, nature, death, war and wisdom poems and ballads. In al-Farabi (935-1020) the Arabs developed a major writer of epics. His *Book of*

Kings centering about the exploits of the hero Rustum ranks with the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid* in world literature. Firdausi is, unfortunately, known to but a few scholars in the western world today, but OMAR KHAYYAM (c. 1100) is widely known through the English translation of Edward Fitzgerald. Omar's *Rubaiyat* provided many poets with both theme and form. Equally familiar to the western world is the *Arabian Nights*, a collection of fables, exploits and tales.

Fine Arts. Muslim architecture was a borrowed art, Byzantine and Persian influences predominated. Mosques were places of worship yet something otherworldly. Their exteriors were slight and delicate, they were often topped by domes that moved quickly past the bulge to a graceful and prayerful point. Around some of the mosques were courts and arcades, some had minarets (towering towers) from the top of which the *muezzin* called the faithful to the five prayers. In some areas the bulbous dome was abandoned for a flat topped roof and the praying arch for a horseshoe arch.

In fact, Muslim architecture varied widely with locale and produced five styles: the Syrian-Egyptian or Arabic, the Moorish or Spanish, the Persian, the Indian and the Turkish. Since their religion prohibited the carving or painting of images, the interiors of the mosques were bare of pictorial representation. This did not prevent the Muslim artist from projecting his highly developed sense of beauty into architectural decoration involving many motifs: lattice-work, stelliform, gilding, colored tiles and the like. Decoration spread from architecture into pottery and glass work, inlaid metal products, elaborate woodwork, carpets, damasks, silks and laces.

Mohammed had ordered instrumental music out of Islam with the result that vocalization became the chief form of music making. In defiance of the Prophet's command, however, Muslims introduced accompanied vocalization. When this won religious sanction, Muslim genius was turned to the production of an infinite variety of instruments of accompaniment—the lute, the harp, the tambourine, the flute, the seed pipe, the cymbal, and many others.

EUROPE

While these great advances were being registered in the Byzantine and Muslim worlds, how was Europe faring?

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roughly corresponding to France, Germany, and Italy. This division became more pronounced and permanent as "nationalizing" forces of language, custom, history, and tradition developed.

With the Iconoclastic Controversy, the break between Byzantium and western Europe became deeper. Meanwhile the Moslem seizure of the Mediterranean had severed the direct contact of the two revived civilizations.

Barbarization of Europe was triply ensured when a new group of barbarians, this time from Scandinavia (hence Northmen or Norsemen) violently invaded the settled areas of Europe to accelerate the tendencies already under way toward decentralization and decomposition. These Vikings were fear-

less seamen and warriors. Danes and Norwegians invaded the British Isles, the North Atlantic French coastal areas, Rome, Ireland, Spain, Sicily, and Southern Italy; their Swedish confederates took the easterly route into Russia. Westward sailing Vikings discovered Greenland, Iceland, and North America (492 years before Columbus). The immediate effects of these raids was to hasten the feudalization of Europe, to destroy all the literate arts, to accelerate the division of Europe into "nationalities" and to cast Europe into a brief Dark Age. In the long run, it was these same Norsemen who helped, because of their driving energy, to bring Europe out of the Dark Age into the noonday of Medieval Civilization.

CHAPTER NINE

THE FOUNDATIONS OF MEDIEVAL CIVILIZATION

INTRODUCTION

The Medieval or Middle Ages of European history are those that lie between the Greco-Roman Age and the Age of the Renaissance—approximately from 476 A.D. to about 1350. These Middle Ages reached their height between the 11th and 13th centuries. Our concern in this chapter is with Medievalism at its height and with only the broadest aspects of its civilization and culture.

FEUDALISM

A distinguishing feature of the Middle Ages

was the feudal system. A nobleman became a lord when he made a grant of a fief (a section of land with its peasant inhabitants) to another nobleman in exchange for the latter's services, chiefly military. A nobleman became a vassal when he accepted the fief and swore homage and fealty to his lord. It is important to remember that both the lord and the vassal were noblemen and freemen. Origins of the Feudal System. Both Roman and German influences contributed to the creation of the Feudal System. It was not unusual in Roman times for a freeman to attach himself to a wealthy or influential man as a "client." In exchange for

services, the client received protection. In more troubled times the practice of commendation arose. A client would "commend" both himself and his land to a patron in exchange for protection. In reverse, it was also a common practice for a wealthy landed patron to grant a client a *precarium* (land with precarious or uncertain tenure), in time this became a *beneficium* or a grant of land for a fixed period of time, viz., a lifetime or two generations, in exchange for services. This land services practice became merged with the Germanic practice of establishing a personal military relationship between a chief and his freemen warriors. The nobles also introduced a practice of "immunity" whereby powerful noblemen were granted free unsupervised sovereignty over fixed territorial areas.

The Fief. In the tenth century the practice became fixed to invest a warrior vassal with a fief. The fief might be a single small holding or an entire duchy of many holdings. It was an hereditary holding and was transmitted by succession through the eldest son. Within the boundaries of the fief the vassal exercised sovereign rights: he collected taxes, coined money, exploited the resources, raised armies, provided for the public defense, administered justice, established and regulated markets and the like. The investiture of a fief was often recorded in a written contract. In the written contract was also included

Franks of the Merovingian family as its secular arm. Thus was open recognition of the strength of the Germanic component in European civilization. Germany, in fact, became the seat of political power in Europe. For one hundred years Merovingian monarchs conducted themselves as did Clovis: they practiced an absolutism in government, waged war against their neighbors, treated their kingdoms as personal property, made forcible conversions to the orthodox faith, and dominated both the policies and personnel of the Church itself.

By the middle of the 7th century, however, the spark of courage and conquest went out of the Merovingians. They became "do nothing kings." This was hardly the time for Europe to be left leaderless for Catholic Europe was still surrounded by a sea of unconverted pagans, the rise of Muslim mediocrity had begun to restrict Mediterranean commerce, the link with Byzantium was steadily weakening, the economy was dissolving into more primitive forms of barter and agriculture for self sufficiency, government was becoming increasingly decentralized. Counts, dukes and patricians were beginning to rule over small territorial units as independent lords. The Merovingians existed as long as they did because they were still able to reap the benefits of old Roman commerce, manufacture and trade. But a do nothing policy encouraged the trend toward disintegration.

It was inevitable, then that groups of powerful nobility at the Merovingian court would strive to seize the power from these ineffective rulers. The most powerful of the kings' advisers was the 'mayor of the palace.' Beginning with PEPIN OF LANDEN (639) the mayor of the palace began to take over the powers of the king. CHARLES MARTEL, hero of Poitiers, was one such. The last of the Merovingians was deposed by PEPIN THE SHORT (741-768) in 751. Pepin began the Carolingian Dynasty which took its name from CHARLEMAGNE (Charles the Great).

The Carolingian "Renaissance." Charles the Great came to the throne in 768. His aim as king was to restore the old Roman Empire and to include in it the lands north of the Danube. He therefore made war on the Saxons to the north, the Slavs in the east and the Mongolian Avars in the mid-Danubian region. When completed his conquests produced a territorial empire equal in size to that of the old Roman Empire in Europe.

It was now important to unite these conquests into an administrative whole. Charlemagne used a number of methods to achieve this: he added vast

domains to his personal estate to ensure a source of revenue, he built up a personal army based upon contributions of men and arms from the wealthy nobility, conscription of the richer freemen and contribution of arms by the poorer freemen. Strongly fortified frontier posts were created. Administratively, the system of counties and duchies that had grown up following the barbarian invasions was retained and the counts and dukes were expected to keep law and order within their domains; they also had to swear allegiance to the king, who in turn enforced allegiance.

Church and State. Charles linked the Church to the State by 'converting' pagans at the point of the sword, by directing Church policy and practice even in matters of ritual by employing churchmen as state administrators, etc. These actions met with the approval of the reigning popes, particularly Leo III. Leo had met with considerable opposition in Rome, so considerable that he was forced to flee over the Alps to Germany to seek the help of Charles. Charles took Leo back to Rome and re-instated him; Leo's enemies were scattered. The Pope showed his gratitude on Christmas Day in the year 800. As Charles was kneeling in prayer, Leo placed on his head a crown and hailed him as 'Augustus crowned of God great and pacific Emperor of the Romans.' Tradition has it that Charles was considerably annoyed at being thus received his secular power from the hands of a churchman. Future emperors were to make even more violent protest.

Combined with efforts on behalf of the Church, Charles began an educational revival within and through the Church. Schools were set up in the palace and cathedrals of the land and leading European scholars like ALCUIN OF YORK were brought in to teach in these schools. Meanwhile the monks made numerous copies of the ancient classics—copies that were to spark the revival of learning in high medieval times.

THE FINAL DECLINE OF EUROPE

Had Charles's work been continued there is some likelihood that the Saracens may have been expelled from Spain, that the Moslems may have remained open and in contact with Byzantium renewed. For the Saracen power had weakened considerably in the ninth century. But Charles's work was not continued. These were the reasons.

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less seamen and warriors. Danes and Norwegians invaded the British Isles, the North Atlantic French coastal areas, Rome, Ireland, Spain, Sicily, and Southern Italy; their Swedish confreres took the easterly route into Russia; Westward sailing Vikings discovered Greenland, Iceland, and North America (491 years before Columbus). The immediate effects of these raids was to hasten the feudalization of Europe, to destroy all the literate arts, to accelerate the division of Europe into "nationalities," and to cast Europe into a brief Dark Age. In the long run, it was these same Norsemen who helped, because of their driving energy, to bring Europe out of the Dark Age into the noonday of Medieval Civilization.

CHAPTER NINE

THE FOUNDATIONS OF MEDIEVAL CIVILIZATION

INTRODUCTION

The Medieval or Middle Ages of European history are those that lie between the Greco-Roman Age and the Age of the Renaissance—approximately from 476 A.D. to about 1350. These Middle Ages reached their height between the 11th and 13th centuries. Our concern in this chapter is with Medievalism at its height and with only the broadest aspects of its civilization and culture.

FEUDALISM

A distinguishing feature of the Middle Ages was the Feudal System, a system that pivoted upon a personal, contractual relationship between two nobles—a lord and a vassal. A nobleman became a lord when he made a grant of a fief (a section of land with its peasant inhabitants) to another nobleman in exchange for the latter's services, chiefly military. A nobleman became a vassal when he accepted the fief and swore homage and fealty to his lord. It is important to remember that both the lord and the vassal were noblemen and freemen. Origins of the Feudal System. Both Roman and German influences contributed to the creation of the Feudal System. It was not unusual in Roman times for a freeman to attach himself to a wealthy or influential man as a "client." In exchange for

services the client received protection. In more troubled times the practice of commendation arose. A client would "commend" both himself and his land to a patron in exchange for protection. In reverse it was also a common practice for a wealthy landed patron to grant a client a *precarium* (land with precarious or uncertain tenure) in time this became a *beneficium* or a grant of land for a fixed period of time, say a lifetime or two generations in exchange for services. Thus land services practice became merged with the Germanic practice of establishing a personal military relationship between a chief and his freemen warriors. The Germans also introduced a practice of immunity grants whereby powerful noblemen were granted free unsupervised sovereignty over fixed territorial areas.

The fief. In the tenth century the practice became fixed to invest a warrior vassal with a fief. The fief might be a single small holding or an entire duchy of many holdings.

In return for the fief the vassal swore loyalty and homage to his lord. In exchange for the fief the vassal collected taxes, provided for the public defense, administered justice, established and regulated markets and the like. The investiture of a fief was often recorded in a written contract. In the written contract was also included

Frank of the Merovingian family as its secular arm. This was open recognition of the strength of the Germanic component in European civilization. Germany, in fact, became the seat of political power in Europe for one hundred years. Merovingian monarchs conducted themselves as did Clovis: they practiced an absolutism in government, waged war against their neighbors, treated their kingdom as personal property, made forcible conversion to the orthodox faith, and dominated both the police and personnel of the Church itself.

By the middle of the 7th century, however, the spark of courage and conquest went out of the Merovingian. They became "do nothing kings." This was hardly the time for Europe to be left leaderless, for Catholic Europe was still surrounded by a sea of unconverted pagans, the rise of Mohammedanism had begun to restrict Mediterranean commerce, the link with Byzantium was steadily weakening, the economy was dissolving into more primitive forms of barter and agriculture for self-sufficiency, government was becoming increasingly decentralized. Counts, dukes and patricians were beginning to rule over small territorial units as independent lords. The Merovingians existed as long as they did because they were still able to reap the benefits of old Roman commerce, manufacture and trade. But a do nothing policy encouraged the trend toward disintegration.

It was inevitable, then, that groups of powerful nobility at the Merovingian court would strive to seize the power from these ineffective rulers. The most powerful of the king's advisers was the "mayor of the palace." Beginning with PIPIN OF LANDEN (639) the mayor of the palace began to take over the powers of the king. CHARLES MARTEL, hero of Poitiers, was one such. The last of the Merovingians was deposed by PIPIN THE SHORT (741-768). In 751 Pepin began the Carolingian Dynasty which took its name from CHARLES VI (Charles the Great).

The Carolingian "Renaissance." Charles the Great came to the throne in 768. His task as king was to restore the old Roman Empire in the middle of its lands north of the Danube. He therefore made war on the Saxons to the north, the Slavs in the east and the Mongolian Avars in the mid-Danubian region. When completed his conquests produced a territorial empire equal in size to that of the old Roman Empire in Europe.

It was now important to unite these conquests into an administrative whole. Charlemagne used a number of methods to achieve this. He added vast

domains to his personal estate to ensure a source of revenue, he built up a personal army based upon contributions of men and arms from the nobility, conscription of the richer freemen, and contribution of arms by the poorer freemen. Strongly fortified frontier posts were created. Administratively, the system of counties and duchies that had grown up following the barbarian invasions was retained and the counts and dukes were expected to keep law and order within their domains; they also had to swear allegiance to the king who in turn enforced allegiance.

Church and State. Charles linked the Church to the State by "converting" pagans at the point of the sword, by dictating Church policy and practice even in matters of ritual, by employing churchmen as state administrators, etc. These actions met with the approval of the reigning popes, particularly Leo III. Leo had met with considerable opposition in Rome, so considerable that he was forced to flee over the Alps to Germany to seek the help of Charles. Charles took Leo back to Rome and re-instated him. Leo's enemies were scattered. The Pope showed his gratitude on Christmas Day in the year 800. As Charles was kneeling in prayer, Leo placed on his head a crown and hailed him as "Augustus crowned of God great and pacific Emperor of the Romans." Tradition has it that Charles was considerably annoyed at this, thus received his secular power from the hands of a churchman. Future emperors were to make even more violent protests.

Combining his efforts on behalf of the Church, Charles began an educational revival within and through the Church. Schools were set up in the palaces and cathedrals of the land and leading teachers like ALCUIN OF YORK were brought in to teach in these schools. Meanwhile the monks made manuscript copies of the ancient classics—these were to spark the revival of learning in high medieval times.

THE FINAL DECAY OF EUROPE

Had Charles's work been continued there is some likelihood that the Saracens may have been expelled from Spain, that the Mediterranean may have remained open and commerce with Byzantium renewed. For the Saracen power had weakened considerably in the ninth century. But Charles's work was not continued. The empire decayed.

After his death the Empire was divided by the Treaty of Verdun (843) into three territories.

roughly corresponding to France, Germany and Italy. This division became more pronounced and permanent as "nationalizing" forces of language, custom, history and tradition developed.

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The Fief. In the tenth century the practice became fixed to invest a warrior vassal with a fief. The fief might be a single small holding or an entire duchy of many holdings. It was an *hereditary* holding and was transmitted by succession through the eldest son. Within the boundaries of the fief the vassal exercised sovereign rights: he collected taxes, coined money, exploited the resources, raised armies, provided for the public defense, administered justice, established and regulated markets and the like. The investiture of a fief was often recorded in a written contract. In the written contract was also included

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Combined with efforts on behalf of the Church, Charles led in an educational revival within and through the Church. Schools were set up in the palace and cathedrals of the land and leading European scholars like ALCUIN OF YORK were brought in to teach in these schools. Meanwhile the monks made numerous copies of the ancient classics—books that were to spark the revival of learning in high medieval times.

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As a feudal landholder was it easy for a bishop to invest a bishop with land. This amounted virtually to giving the lord the right to dictate who should be the bishop. Churchmen resented this claim to "lay investiture" vigorously, arguing that even though clergymen were vassals or lords temporal they were also bishops or lords spiritual and their status as churchmen placed them above any feudal lord. Only a churchman, they said, could invest a churchman. Though the conflict over investiture was sharp, it was modified by the fact that the Church commanded the devotion of the feudal nobility as a

Chivalry—in essence a code of ethics—had secured religious and courtly comportment. It embodied accepted ideals of virtuous behavior for the class of warrior knights. As a warrior the knight was expected to be loyal to his pledged word, to be brave in battle, to give an opponent a fair chance to retreat, to treat a captive as an honored guest (until he was ransomed) to release a captive in exchange for a hostage so he could collect his ransom, and to fight for honor in tournament and joust.

As a Christian warrior the knight was expected to be a very perfect knight—to protect the Church and its faith, to help the weak and the poor and to battle the heretic and the infidel to the death. As a courtly knight the warrior was expected to glorify women in the ideal (no matter how unrealistic he treated her in reality) to adore them in song and poem, to woo them in a chaste and holy spirit, to fight for them, to wear their tokens in armor or battle to be in love with love, and always to show the "courtier." The origins of chivalry have been traced to various sources. To the castles there were wandering troubadours—minstrels who composed and recited tales of knightly adventure and poems of courtly love. In their stories, delivered before the assembled knights, they created ideal warriors fighting for ideal causes and thus moved their audience to imitation.

As built monasteries on their estates, helped to erect church buildings gave large endowments of property to church and monastery etc. Because of intimate connection with the Feudal System, the church was able to infuse it with some of its own values.

For example, the Church—and particularly the papacy—was opposed to the violence of feudalism. It tried to restrain warfare by moral command. Through Church Councils a Peace of God was proclaimed, a command reinforced by an official curse designed to protect the unprotected (the poor, the merchant, the Church itself) from robbery, pillage and assault. The Church also proclaimed a Truce of God—a command reinforced by threat of excommunication forbidding warfare from sundown Wednesday to sunrise Monday as well as during specified holy days during the year (Church restraints were directed, of course, to wars of Roman Catholics upon each other; wars of Roman Catholics against heretics or infidels on the other hand were wholeheartedly approved).

Chivalry Church influence was considerable in the formation of the feudal code of chivalry.

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Feudal Hierarchy. Medievalism was patterned on the needs of these broad social groups: the peasants, the military nobility and the clergy. These three groups formed estates and the first was the clergy, the second the nobility and the third the peasantry and other producers (the townsmen did not fit easily into this medieval pattern—as we shall see).

In theory the feudal hierarchy was carefully pyramided. At the top as lord of all vassals was the king, counts, dukes and viscounts followed beneath them were the barons or seignors and knights or chevaliers made up the lowest rank. The Church held a special position in the hierarchy. In the 9th and 10th centuries many churchmen gave military service for feudal allotments and when this was prohibited on moral grounds, church fiefs were usually sub-infeudated among lay knights who could fulfil by proxy the Church's military duties.

Within the hierarchy, the king was potentially powerful but actually limited in his power to his own estate. Theoretically he owned all the land, in reality it was in the inalienable possession of the powerful nobility. Theoretically—as in Germany—the king ruled by divine right (The Holy Roman Emperor), in reality, he was an *elect* monarch chosen by the nobility and the clergy. Theoretically, the king commanded the allegiance of all his subjects, in reality, they obeyed him to the extent of their oath of allegiance and feudal contract. The point of this comparison is that the seeds of royal absolutism were buried in the medieval order and could be released the moment the power of the feudality weakened. Thus precisely what happened by the 15th century.

Feudal Life. While feudalism prevailed violence and turbulence characterized the life of the nobility as they contended over matters of inheritance and succession of lay and ecclesiastical supremacy, of infractions of the feudal contract and the like. With war as an almost constant condition feudal lords were forced to convert their homes into fortresses. The castle was a fortress. Its thick walls, crenelated towers, deep ditches, inner and outer battlements, surrounding moat, iron toothed portcullis and draw bridge made it virtually unassailable by feudal armies except by siege and starvation.

The state of permanent war conditioned the education of youth. Feudal youth were trained to become knights and warriors. Like his Spartan prototypes the feudal youth was removed from parental care at the age of seven or eight and sent to another feudal household for upbringing. He served as a page until he was sixteen and as a squire until he was twenty-one. Throughout these early years, he was made to live a hard life in the course of which he was taught the use and care of arms and horses. When he was battle ready he became a knight. This occasion was an impressive religio-feudal ceremony during which the knight-to-be knelt before another knight and received in accolade which was originally a sharp blow with the flat of a sword intended to knock the initiate out but was later modified to a slight tap on the head or shoulder. Once knighted the warrior spent his time in war or warlike games which took the forms of hunting and tournaments or jousts.

The Church and Feudalism. During the Middle Ages the Church was a superstate within a state. Its powers were both temporal (political-economic and social) and spiritual (religious and moral). It owned vast areas of land secured through pious donations. As a landed proprietor within the feudal

system, the Church itself became a feudal overlord. Its properties were made into fiefs and as fiefholders, clergymen swore fealty and homage, collected feudal dues, produced and marketed goods, employed serf labor and enjoyed sovereign political rule through grants of jurisdiction, immunity and special privileges. Unlike the feudal landlords, however, the Church nobility (bishops and abbots) retained *perpetual* control over their properties; they paid no reliefs or inheritance taxes, since, it was argued, though churchmen died, the Church did not and therefore there was never really any transfer of property.

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Feudal Life While feudalism prevailed violence and turbulence characterized the life of the nobility as they contended over matters of inheritance and succession of lay and ecclesiastical supremacy of infractions of the feudal contract and the like. With war as an almost constant condition, feudal lords were forced to convert their homes into fortresses. The castle was a fortress. Its thick walls, crenelated towers, deep donjons, inner and outer battlements, surrounding moat, iron toothed portcullis and draw bridge made it virtually unassailable by feudal armies except by siege and starvation.

The state of permanent war conditioned the education of youth. Feudal youth were trained to become knight or warriors. Like his Spartan prototypes, the feudal youth was removed from parental care at the age of seven or eight and sent to another feudal household for upbringing. He served as a page until he was sixteen and as a squire until he was twenty-one. Throughout these early years, he was made to live a hard life in the course of which he was taught the use and care of arms and horses. When he was battle ready, he became a knight. This occasion was an impressive religious-feudal ceremony during which the knight-to-be knelt before another knight and received an accolade which was originally a sharp blow with the flat of a sword intended to knock the initiate out but was later modified to a slight tap on the head or shoulder. Once knighted, the warrior spent his time in war or warlike games which took the forms of hunting and tournaments or jousts.

The Church and Feudalism During the Middle Ages the Church was a superstate within a state; its powers were both temporal (political, economic and social) and spiritual (religious and moral). It owned vast areas of land secured through pious donations. As a landed proprietor within the feudal

the practice of preaching without permission of the bishop, Waldo ignored the order and began to attack the Church itself as unnecessary for salvation. Waldo taught that any Christian could find salvation by learning from the New Testament what Christ commanded and by living accordingly; the sacraments, he taught, were useless. In 1181 he and his followers were condemned as heretics.

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But could not have adopted the human form, for the Eucharist was a false sacrament because Christ could not appear in the materials of bread and wine that marriage is an evil, that the Pope is the successor not of Peter but of Constantine, that he was associated with the temporal universe, that eternal damnation was rejected and a doctrine of reincarnation substituted. Since deism was advocated as a means of freeing the soul from its material prison.

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Revolted by immoral practices among the clergy, **Peter Waldo** (c. 1100), a prosperous merchant, gave away all his property and began to follow an apostolic way of life. He began to preach in the countryside (without having been ordained) a perfect Christian life as he interpreted that life from the New Testament. When he was ordered to stop

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Because they despised things material, the Albigenses taught that material creation came from evil forces, that the God of the Old Testament was evil, that Christ could not have adopted the human form, that the Eucharist was a false sacrament because Christ could not appear in the materials of bread and wine, that marriage is an evil, that the Pope was the successor not of Peter, but of Constantine, nor he was associated with the temporal universe etc. Eternal damnation was rejected and a doctrine of reincarnation substituted. Suicide was advocated as a means of freeing the soul from its material prison.

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Out of Cluny came Hildebrand who rose to be POPE GREGORY VII and who instituted the so-called Gregorian reform. While the abolition of simony, nepotism, inebriety, etc. were important in the Gregorian reforms Gregory's chief concern was to establish the independence of the papacy. Previously POPE LEO IX (1048-1054) had made the final break with Byzantium and had freed the Church to concentrate upon its position in the West. Then POPE NICHOLAS II (1059-1073) broke away from German control by linking the fate of the Church with the Normans of South Italy. Thus secured he issued a decree that henceforth the pope would be elected by a College of Cardinals. Since cardinals were chosen by the pope for life continuity of policy was assured.

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Gregory's announced policy was precisely that outlined in these documents. He proclaimed himself as spokesman for God on earth, responsible to no power but God's and therefore deserving of obedience from all the lay rulers in the world. These ideas were set forth in a proclamation called *Dictatus Papae* and legates were sent through Europe to make them known to kings, nobles and clergymen. When certain German clergymen refused to obey these orders they were excommunicated. In 1075 Gregory took the decisive step of prohibiting lay investiture of bishops.

German bishops owned rich tracts of land in trust for the German emperors. The election of bishops was very carefully controlled by the emperors. A bishop was nominated by clerics, but land and secular immunities was secured from the emperor (lay investiture). It was thus virtually impossible for a bishop not pleasing to the emperor to be elected. It was this practice that Gregory made illegal. The German Emperor at this time was Henry IV. When Henry learned of Gregory's order he promptly retained the excommunicated clergy in office, invested new bishops in Germany, named an archbishop for Italy, branded Gregory as "no Pope, but false monk," and ordered Gregory to descend from the papal throne and "be damned to eternity."

Gregory retorted by depriving Henry of his kingdom and releasing all Henry's subjects from obedience to Henry and excommunicating him. Gregory's position was far the stronger. Henry was unpopular with the feudal lords because of his efforts to centralize the German state, one feudal lord, Rudolph of Swabia, fully supported the Pope. The proclamation of excommunication genuinely frightened the German people. Henry's nobles seized him and demanded that he make peace with Gregory. Henry did so but in a manner that led to the ultimate defeat of the Pope. He crossed the Alps dressed in a coarse woolen garment and went barefoot to Canossa where Gregory was. There he stood outside the castle in the snow and begged

in Raymond's land than his faith) led an army southward. Frightful slaughter was inflicted upon the inhabitants of Toulouse, both the heretics and the innocent. The battle cry was, "Kill all for God will know his own." The heretics were in this manner exterminated.

The Friars. Peter Waldo was not alone in his desire to live an apostolic life. FRANCIS OF ASSISI was the son of a wealthy merchant whose youth was typical of carefree, urban existence. Experiencing a sudden conversion, Francis gave up all worldly possessions and began to devote his life to preaching, praying and tending to the needs of the ill and the poor. Francis's message was love for all God's creation—man, plant, animal and inanimate matter and a faith linked to joy. It was not long before Francis had many followers who traveled as his brothers (friars) through the countryside as mendicants or beggars, and doing good works wherever they went.

Francis and twelve of his disciples went to Rome in 1210 to secure permission from Innocent III to create an order. Though troubled and hesitant, Innocent approved. Thus was created the Friars Minor, an order devoted to living an apostolic life and to wandering in the world to do good for the needy. (A feminine counterpart appeared in the Second Order or Poor Clares, after St. Clare, a lay counterpart was the Third Order—the Tertiaries—or Brothers and Sisters of Penance.) The order grew and in a short time became an established monastic order with vast properties and organized rules—something rather distant from Francis's original concept of poverty, mendicancy and wandering preaching. (One group, the Spiritual Franciscans seeking to cling literally to their founder's principles suffered widespread persecution as heretics for they too entered on to the path of defying the secular clergy.)

The Dominicans (or Soldiery of Christ) took their origin from the life and work of ST. DOMINIC who also practiced absolute poverty and mendicancy. Dominic was inspired to found an order of wandering preachers by the rampant heresy in southern France. Where Francis hoped to inspire by example and exaltation, Dominic sought to instruct by debate and precept. His order was sanctioned in 1215 and became known as the Black Friars to distinguish them from the Franciscan Grey Friars. Since their objective was preaching, the Dominicans established a number of schools to train preachers. From these schools Dominicans, trained in the arts, in nature study and in theology,

wandered about the continent of Europe defending the Church against heresy.

Growth of the Papacy. Until the 11th century the Popes of Rome struggled, and not too successfully, to assert their spiritual ascendancy over Christendom. Barbarian invasions had cut them from many of their ecclesiastical subjects and the result was that pronounced regional differences in Christian practice began to appear. For example, this was a period of intense missionary activity among the pagan Europeans. In 432 SAINT PATRICK began a thirty-year mission which converted Ireland to Christianity. Following their conversion the Irish themselves became Europe's leading missionaries. Saints Brendan, Columba and Columbanus carried the Christian message to Scotland, England and Saxony which were in turn converted, and so it went.

But the remoteness of Ireland from Rome encouraged regional differences in Christian practice that led to bitter controversy. Ireland and Rome quarreled over the degree of Christian asceticism permitted, the correct dates of Easter, the proper tonsure (hair-cut) for monks, etc. Geographical remoteness then was one cause of the weakness of the Popes. Another was the fact that the papacy was too often a pawn in the international feudal wars of the Carolingians and then the German and Italian kings and Emperors. Papal elections became dependent upon royal approval. Moreover, there were times when more than one pope claimed the papal crown and in such cases the popes became direct appointees of the emperors. By the tenth century, there was a crying need for papal reform.

Leadership in the movement for papal reform was taken by the Abbey of Cluny. Founded in 910, Cluny had organized about 300 monasteries throughout western Europe. Cluniac monasteries chose their own abbots, rejected all lay controls and upheld the doctrine of the supremacy of the Pope. Since contrary to Benedictine practice Cluniac monasteries were centralized under the direct supervision of the central Abbey of Cluny, it was possible for the abbots of Cluny to begin and carry through an extensive reform of the corrupt practices that had crept into so many of the ecclesiastical organizations. Cluniac reforms were imitated everywhere, but at the heart of this reform movement was the insistence on the absolute independence of the Pope. A model of papal independence had been set during the sixth century by Pope Gregory I (the Great).

From the sixth to the eleventh century no pope attained the stature of GREGORY I. In a time of

me and disease Gregory had brought succor to sick and food to the hungry. When the barbaric hordes had descended on Rome Gregory had light them off with revenues from the papal estates. During more peaceable times Gregory had built churches and houses. He had asserted the supremacy of Rome over Byzantium. At the same time he kept a scrupulous watch over the papal estates and the income of the Church. He fostered missionary work—particularly that of St. Augustine which led to the first conversion of the English. He preached and wrote extensively and produced two religious classics—*The Pastoral Rule* (thoughts on conducting an episcopal office) and *Moralis* (a commentary on *Job*) he set the liturgy in order, and (possibly) he established the Gregorian chant as part of the liturgy. As Cluny reformers viewed this as the model of a pope.

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Results of the Crusades. The results of the Crusades were meager in the extreme considering the cost, the time, the numbers and the pain and agony consumed in their execution. The Italians benefited materially, their profits and trade increased as did the volume of shipping facilities, eventually they were able to establish their supremacy in the Mediterranean. Knowledge of Oriental civilization increased. European demand for luxury goods and this accelerated the free market in town and country which was already under way before the Crusades began. Two military Orders were created—the Knights Templars (1119) to protect pilgrims and to wage war on infidels, and the Knights Hospitallers (1131) to aid the sick and the poor. (Diverted from their original purposes, these Orders grew wealthy and powerful so wealthy and powerful, in fact, that they were destroyed later in the Middle Ages by the kings who envied them and hungered for their wealth.)

The power of the monarchs increased owing to the prestige they acquired in leading the Crusades and the death of many of their enemies. The wealth of the Church increased since many of the crusaders willed their properties to the Church in the event they did not return, and very many of them did not return. But the prestige of the Church declined. The Crusades did not retake in the long run, the Holy Land and many came to question the efficacy of the Catholic Church, indulgences and remissions of sin, when granted wholesale, lost their power.

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without effect, that secular authorities could tax or confiscate ecclesiastical wealth, and that the sovereign power in Christianity lay not with the papacy and its hierarchy, but with a council of clergy and laity, with elected representatives of all of Christendom. Such a council would have the power to reform the pope and the clergy and to alter church institutions with the times. The longes were to be defenders of the peace (hence the title of the pamphlet, *Defensor Pacis*) and the executive arm of the council. Kings would see to it that the pope and clergy were deprived of special privileges and would perform limited but useful duties in the sphere of religion. *Defensor Pacis* provided powerful arguments for the Reformation to come.

The Great Schism (1378-1417). To escape an English attack on Avignon, Gregory IX, an Avignon pope, returned to Rome in 1377, he died in 1378. The cardinals elected Urban VI, an Italian, as pope. When Urban refused to return to Avignon, a new set of cardinals chose Clement VII as pope. Now there were two popes, each with its papal bureaucracy, each with its legates, each taxing all of Christendom, each excommunicating the other, each commanding the allegiance of separate kings (who acted, of course, in their own national in-

terest). Christians everywhere were scandalized and discouraged.

In 1409 there were still two popes, Benedict XIII and Gregory XII. A council was therefore called at Pisa to heal the schism. There the Avignon and Roman parties compromised on the cardinal of Milan, a Greek, who thereupon became ALEXANDER V. But the other two popes refused to accept the compromise with the result that Christendom now had three popes, each excommunicating the other. The papacy had reached its nadir. The conciliar movement was invoked again by the Emperor Sigismund to meet at Constance in 1414. Delegates came as the representatives of nations. This Council lasted four years and when it was over all popes were deposed and a new Roman pontiff, MARTIN V, began a new line that has been uncontested since. The Great Schism was healed but the future lay with another action of the Council of Constance. To its sessions came JOHN HUS (1369-1415) on a safe-conduct pass to present his "heretical" views on the papacy. The Council listened, demanded that he recant and when he refused burned him. The line from the martyred John Hus to Martin Luther was direct and short.

CHAPTER TEN

VILLAGE, TOWN AND STATE

THE SEIGNORIAL SYSTEM

Agriculture. The economic base of feudalism is self-sufficient agriculture, that is, farming which produces no surplus for sale. The unit of economy is the village or hamlet, mostly the former. Villages were clusters of families surrounded by the land which was located near a manor house castle and which contained a common meadow, a woodland, a wasteland, a mill, a smithy, a wine press, an oven and a church. In more backward areas the arable lands were divided on a two-field basis—one planted, one fallow, in more progressive areas the three field system was used—one planted with winter grain, another with summer crops and a third left fallow.

Each household had its individually owned strips, use of the common pasture and woodland (depending on the number of animals owned), and a private garden patch. Perforce, cooperative rather than individual farming characterized medieval village life. Plowing, harvesting, threshing, pasturing and the like had to be done together to secure the maximum efficiency. Maximum efficiency produced little enough since the level of productivity was extremely low owing to very primitive farming methods and to the need to set land aside for animal fodder. What little was harvested had to serve for drink and seed as well as food.

Thus bare subsistence distinguished the life of the villager. His fare was meager and simple and consisted mainly of bread and ale or wine as staples, some fruits and vegetables in season, and very little meat or fish. Villagers lived in mud and thatch huts with narrow strips a furlong long.

Venetians ferried the children to Egypt and sold them into slavery there

The Decline of the Medieval Church. The decline of the medieval papacy is evident even in the extraordinary career of Innocent III. Philip Augustus obeyed Innocent in the small matter of a marriage, but disobeyed him on all other and larger issues like the Albigensian Crusade and the command to stop absorbing English territory in France. England became a fief, but no threat of Innocent could control the English feudal lords who, defying Innocent's specific prohibition, forced John to sign Magna Carta. Innocent could preach a crusade, but could not win the obedience of the crusader to his commands not to act sinfully. Innocent suppressed heretics, but not heresy. Innocent fostered the Inquisition but could not force England or Scandinavia to adopt it. Innocent trained youthful Frederick II to be a model Christian prince and he became almost the worst enemy of Christendom.

Frederick II No one can question Frederick's intellectual brilliance. He was master of many languages, a creator of universities, a theologian, political scientist and economist, a profound biologist. In theology, however, he was a freethinker and if anything, more sympathetic to Mohammedanism than Christianity. In the field of political science he denied the secular authority of the papacy and supported instead the doctrine of divine right monarchy.

Contrary to papal desire, he united Germany and Sicily. He refused for many years to go on a crusade when ordered to do so, when he was excommunicated for this refusal, he did go and won back the Holy Land by negotiation with the Muslim ruler. Here indeed was a mocking irony where the most devout failed, an excommunicated prince succeeded.

On his return Frederick fought and defeated papal armies. Frederick, then, created a pattern of contempt for the temporal power of the popes and his example was imitated by the rising kings throughout Europe.

Royal Assault on the Papacy By the fourteenth century a number of forces were opposed to the Pope's pretensions to temporal power: the growing national states, the alliance of local clergy with the princes in demanding a curb on papal power, national patriotism from below, increasing heresy, mounting opposition to church taxation, growing royal envy over the wealth of the Church, the rise of an urban middle class drawing its wealth by trade with the non-Christian world. When the

kings began to attack the popes, the popes found themselves with few friends.

Philip IV of France and Edward I of England placed state taxes upon the clergy. (1296) Pope Boniface VIII issued the famous bull *Clericus laicos* in which it was reaffirmed that the state could not tax the clergy without consent of the pope, any king who did would be automatically excommunicated. Edward outlawed all disobedient clergy and Philip forbade the export of all monies to Rome. Boniface responded with the bull *Unam Sanctam* (1302) and pointed out that all Christians, both Kings and commoners, were subject to the Church. Philip thereupon sent William Nogaret to Rome to kidnap and jail Boniface! The maneuver failed but the low state of papal authority was clearly evident.

In 1305 Philip dictated the appointment of a Frenchman as pope (Clement V). Clement became Philip's tool; he removed the papacy from Rome to Avignon in France where it remained from 1309 to 1377 (and is known in history as the 'Babylonian Exile'). He revoked Boniface's bulls against Philip, he granted Philip permission to destroy the Knights Templars and to confiscate their wealth.

To assure continuation of French papal supremacy, French cardinals replaced Italians. Avignon popes were no less determined than their Italian predecessors to build the power of the Church with the aid of the French monarchs. They continued to oppose the unification of Germany and Italy. To build a papal center at Avignon they increased church taxation ruthlessly; the payment of one year's income was required for an appointment to a benefice; the tithe was converted into a tax payable to the papacy; procurations had to be paid to bishops who made tours of inspection; taxes were levied upon papal bulls and decrees, delinquent taxpayers were excommunicated.

Criticism became loud and bold. John Wycliffe in England began a new heresy by denouncing the divinity of the papal office and the sanctity of the sacramental system. *On Monarchy* (1379) pleaded for the separation and state. William of Occam wrote upholding the supremacy of king authority. Franciscans demanded that the popes return to evangelical poverty.

The most important of the protests, however, came from the pens of Marsilius of Padua and John of Salisbury (1324). In a closely reasoned pamphlet they asserted the supremacy of the royal power and its independence of the Holy See. They argued that excommunications and interdicts were

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Each household had its individually owned strips, use of the common pasture and woodland (depending on the number of animals owned) and a private garden patch. Performance cooperative rather than individual farming characterized medieval village life. Plowing, harvesting, threshing, sowing and the like had to be done together to secure the maximum efficiency. Maximum efficiency produced little enough since the level of productivity was extremely low owing to very primitive farming methods and to the need to set land aside for animal fodder. What little was harvested had to serve for drink and seed as well as food.

Thus bare subsistence distinguished the life of the villager. His fare was meager and simple and consisted mainly of bread and some

that serve as home and barn, their clothes were crudely fashioned and made of coarse textiles. They lived and died within the narrow precincts of the village—unless they were freemen. Family, church and village festival provided them with their few joys. This bare existence of the villager was made harder by his obligations to a lord or seigneur.

Serfdom. Medieval labor can be classified broadly as peasant labor. Peasants, however, varied in their social status from freemen to slave. Freemen held land by military tenure or by contract, they had less onerous burdens than the serf or slave, they could use the king's court in an appeal for justice. Cottagers were semi-free day laborers who owned the plots on which their cottages were built and hired out as day-laborers.

Most of the peasants, however, were unfree agricultural workers called villeins or serfs (slavery died out during the Middle Ages). It was the serfs who supported the non-producing classes of nobility and clergy. Like feudalism, serfdom can be traced back to German and Roman origins. In Roman times *latifundia* were cultivated by *coloni*. *Coloni* were granted cottages and small landholdings in exchange for labor on the landlord's estate. They were not permitted to leave the estate without the landlord's permission. The invading Germans brought with them their "mark system," a system characterized by land owned by a free village community and worked on a communal basis. In the course of time these German villages lost their freedom to seigniorial landlords on a *coloni* basis, but retained their communal agricultural life. Free farmers had little choice in the troubled times of the Dark Ages but to surrender their freedom to some powerful noble in exchange for military protection. Surrender of freedom was always in terms of labor on the lord's land and giving up the freedom of movement.

The Demesne. The lord's land was part of the arable soil of the village and was called the demesne. The demesne consisted of the demesne proper worked by special serfs and day laborers, the "lord's close," or part of the demesne rented to freemen or serfs, the villagers' own land scattered in strips, the land belonging to the village priest, and the meadowland and woodland.

Villagers were obliged to work the demesne as they did their own strips, to sow, cultivate, harvest and hay it, and to pasture the lord's cattle and swine in the common meadow. This unremunerated labor consumed from two to four days of the week, on the average. Besides the regular labor, there was

"boon" or extra work on special occasions. With growth in the power of the lords, many more obligations were heaped upon the backs of the serfs and freemen.

Seigniorial Dues. There was the *corvée* or forced labor in clearing the lord's woods and wasteland, in draining his marshes, in building his roads, raising his dikes, etc. There were special taxes, the head (poll) tax for each member of the family, the land tax, the produce tax, the church tax, forced purchases of salt or wine, fees for fishing or hunting, taxes for the use of the lord's (monopolized) oven, mill, smithy, or wine press, "fines" for permitting a son to enter the church or a daughter to marry someone who lived outside the lord's jurisdiction, inheritance taxes when sons took over their deceased fathers' strips, gifts "freely" given on the occasion of knighthood for the lord's son or marriage for the lord's daughter or ransom for the lord himself.

It is estimated that these enforced payments—not counting the labor spent on the lord's demesne—consumed about two thirds of the serf's produce. Nor was there any way for a serf to escape his lot. Failure to meet his obligation met with swift and merciless punishment at the lord's hands, he could not leave the village, a bankrupt, and seek his fortune elsewhere, if he did secure the lord's consent to leave, he could take nothing with him, since all his personal property belonged to the lord.

In spite of these many restrictions dues and obligations, the serf was not a slave. He could not be removed from his parcel of land. He could be sold or given away, but his land was part of the transfer of ownership. Moreover, the lord had clear obligations to the serf: obligation to furnish him protection in time of war, food in time of famine, and the utilities (mill, press, etc.) required for a self-sufficient community.

There were other mitigating factors in the serf's poor lot. Feudal dues tended to become fixed and customary and to remain so even though the lord's living costs rose and he had the power to increase dues at will.

The Manorial System. Some villages belonged to one lord alone, others were shared by two or more lords. The serf's obligations similarly might be to one or to many lords. Properly speaking, then, there was a difference between the lord's demesne and his manor. The latter represented the basic unit of the lord's administration whether his holdings were concentrated in whole villages or scattered through many. Manorial administration was in the

hands of a steward who supervised many demesnes and a bailiff who was resident manager of one.

Manorial Courts. The manorial system made its influence felt through the lord's tax collectors or through his justices. By the eleventh century the most powerful nobility and clergy had won immunity from the king's jurisdiction and had become fully sovereign within their own manors. As sovereigns they could legislate and could enforce the laws they made by punishing violators to the extent of capital punishment.

Manorial courts were instituted to try cases between tenant and tenant or between tenant and lord (These were in addition to courts which judged between lord and vassal and church courts which heard cases involving persons in religious orders.) Manorial courts applied a barbaric code of justice. Plaintiff and defendant were both jailed pending

the usual mutilation, hanging, burial alive depending on the nature of the crime.

The Decline of Serfdom. The village—the base of feudalism—was an independent unit with very little contact with the outside world. There was almost no trading in it, and what trading there was was on a barter basis. All dues were paid in produce. By the fourteenth century this static, fixed center had virtually disappeared after a steady decline during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Several factors account for this decline. During the twelfth century a movement began to reclaim deserted villages, forested areas and marshes. Landed nobility began to encourage "frontier" settlements by offering free farmers and serfs attractive terms—chiefly reductions in feudal dues. Monasteries and abbeys similarly engaged their monks in reclamation projects. With an increase in arable land, the lot of both the serf and the lord improved. At about the same time the towns made their appearance or re-appearance in Europe. It now became profitable to produce a surplus over subsistence to sell to the townsmen. Townsmen had already begun the practice of using money as a medium of exchange and it was inevitable that money should invade the village. When it did the lords began the practice of permitting serfs and other debtors to discharge their obligations in money payments.

As the lords began to receive money for rents, they found it more profitable to release serfs from working on the demesne and renting demesne lands for additional monetary returns. The logical next

step was emancipation of the serf. Emancipatory moves were made throughout the Middle Ages as acts of charity, by the fourteenth century, however, it became profitable to release serfs from bondage. Emancipation not only freed the serf from the rule of the lord, it also freed the lord from his obligations to the serf, an obligation which could become costly in difficult times. Money, then, became the dissolvent of the seignorial system, and, to shift the metaphor, it was the midwife of a new order of free enterprise in land.

Peasant Revolts. Emancipation of the serfs was a gradual process: not all feudal lords responded to the possibilities of increased profits. Conservatism and tradition were strangleholds upon even those lords who saw the benefits of the new system. When such was the case, the peasants often took matters into their own hands to force emancipation. This led to a number of peasant revolts in England and France during the fourteenth century. Such revolts often developed extremely equalitarian objectives. The revolt led by **WAT TYLER** (1381) resulted in a widespread attack on the properties and persons of the English nobility. The peasant rhyme asked

When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?

These peasant uprisings were crushed with great brutality, but they did hasten the process of emancipation.

THE GROWTH OF TOWNS

Throughout history cities have been the promoters and carriers of high civilization. Urban dwellers have proved to be more receptive to new ideas and to change than their rural neighbors. Townsmen have been interested in wealth accumulation and the use of wealth for better living; they have been the instigators of freedom since they were a "middle class," that is, a class without tradition and the conservatism bred of tradition. Moreover, urban centers have been market places, areas where goods were exchanged, deposit points for merchant fleets or caravans. Cities are linked to commerce, ruin of commerce or trade will doom a city to extinction. This is what happened from the fifth to the ninth centuries A.D. European urban centers dwindled and almost disappeared because of the increasing hazards to safe trading on the Mediterranean Sea brought about by the Barbarian and Muslim invasions.

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Several factors account for this decline. During the twelfth century a movement began to reclaim deserted villages, forested areas and marshes. Landed nobility began to encourage "frontier" settlements by offering free farmers and serfs attractive terms—chiefly reductions in feudal dues. Monasteries and abbeys similarly engaged their monks in reclamation projects. With an increase in arable land, the lot of both the serf and the lord improved. At about the same time the towns made their appearance or re-appearance in Europe. It now became profitable to produce a surplus over subsistence to sell to the townsmen. Townsmen had already begun the practice of using money as a medium of exchange and it was inevitable that money should invade the village. When it did the lords began the practice of permitting serfs and other debtors to discharge their obligations in money payments.

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Money—as a medium of exchange—was

product of town economy, so long as some town life persisted after the fifth century even the barbarous Franks had to coin currency. But the Germans were themselves responsible for the ruin of urban centers. At first they sacked these centers and drove the population into the hinterlands where they might eke an existence from the soil. When they became the rulers of Europe, the German kings failed to take the measures required to insure preservation of town life and they permitted roads and bridges to fall into disrepair, where these were usable they placed heavy tolls upon them, they set heavy tariffs upon goods entering their domains, they provided no police force for traveling merchants, they themselves played the roles of robber barons. Until the eighth and ninth centuries some commerce persisted in spite of these handicaps along the rim of the Mediterranean Sea. When the Moslems took possession of the Sea these towns also suffered a decline. By the tenth century European urbanization and commerce were at their lowest point. The European economy settled down to the long sleep of feudalism.

Revival. Revival of trade and commerce came in the eleventh century. The causes for this revival are still obscure. Some historians take this revival back to the ninth and tenth centuries because at that time local trade made its appearance in the region of the castle and more especially the monastery.

Monasteries were actively engaged in land clearance and improving agricultural productivity. They were experimenting with such technological innovations as the multiple yoke for oxen, an improved harness for horse, horseshoes, water and wind mills and irrigation. These experiments resulted in an increase of production or surplus which could be exchanged for other goods or cash. Some historians claim that the credit goes to Venice in Italy, which had never lost its contact with Byzantium in spite of Muslim control of the Sea. Still others trace it to the conquest of the Baltic Sea and the river lanes in Russia by the Varangian Norsemen.

Whatever the origin, by the eleventh century a degree of specialization had begun in Europe. Flanders was the first region in Europe to develop as an industrial and commercial center. Her stock in trade was woolen cloth of which she produced a surplus. To secure raw materials Flanders began a three-way trade: her woolen goods were exchanged for furs, northern furs and hunting hawks, and these were traded in northern France and Germany for raw wool. As the demand for wool

rose, English lords—inspired by the example of the Cistercian monks—began to specialize in sheepherding to supply the Flanders market. England also became the center for an active metals export trade and a wine import trade.

But the more important development did take place in Italy. Venice, Genoa and Pisa began to build ships for a growing commerce between Italy and ports on the Western Mediterranean. Venice, moreover, was pressing the Byzantine trade and since Moslem control of the Mediterranean was the main barrier to expansion, military expeditions were launched against Corsica and Sicily, both in Moslem hands. The Italians welcomed the Crusades.

The Crusades and Commerce. The First Crusaders achieved their objective and created a feudal state in Palestine and Syria. This gave the Italians their golden opportunity. They gathered their vessels together and shipped—for fantastic prices—European supplies into Asia Minor, they ferried individual crusaders and pilgrims—for fantastic prices—over the Sea. In the area of Asia Minor they set up trading centers and secured from the feudal knights monopoly privileges over trade and trade routes. Empty vessels were now loaded for the return voyage with silks, spices, dyes, gems, medicinal rugs, etc. From Italy these goods were distributed throughout Europe. Flanders-Italy now made up a trade axis about which Europe began to revolve.

Results of Commerce. Trade created its own imperatives. Eager for luxury goods, churchmen and feudal barons began to improve the lanes of commerce, roads were cleared and mended, rivers were carefully policed, bridges were rebuilt. A market for silver and gold was intensified. A distinct merchant class appeared and along with it urban centers at river landing or crossroads where homes and warehouses were built. Around these clusters of merchants grew the medieval towns. As such, they fitted nowhere into the feudal seigniorial-ecclesiastical pattern: they wanted to pay for the lands they rented in money, they demanded protection against robbers, they insisted on contracted sales and the means to enforce a contract once it was signed. From these many demands there evolved the town charter which restricted the freedom of the barons and the clergy. But these latter were quite willing to barter a slice of their sovereignty for the luxury goods offered by the merchants.

The Town Charter. Merchants secured town charters at a price usually a large fixed sum of money plus an annual payment. Such charters were

regarded as contracts. In most of the charters the lords agreed to make the land rented to merchants free land, town members were to become freemen after a residence of a year and a day in the town. Rentals were to be in the form of money payments. Lords undertook, for a fee not to debase the local coinage. Merchants could form guilds or corporations to deal with the lords; they could create special courts to hear cases involving commercial law; they could exercise local police powers and elect local officers—mayors and aldermen—to carry out town regulations; finally, they could organize a local militia for defense. (Many of these charters had to be fought for and won before they were granted and the struggles of the towns for charter rights became an important factor in the three-cornered fight that developed in medieval times among the Church, the nobility and the kings.)

The Rise in Town Population. For many reasons the population of the towns increased rapidly once they were founded. Large numbers of serfs fled to the towns to become freemen. Moreover the town increasingly offered security in a world torn by feudal war. By building thick walls around them and hiring mercenaries to defend them, the towns were able to withstand assault by the feudal lords. Since they had many interests in common

Threatened by overpopulation, the towns expanded in size.

Problems of Town Government. Towns were governed, usually by a council of burghers elected annually—the first type of representative government to develop in modern Europe. These councils were responsible for matters of defense, public works, markets and social security. Their problems were immense. Streets were unpaved, unlighted; narrow houses were smoky firetraps, water polluted; filth incredible, the crowding a menace to public health, the air foul-smelling. Not until most cities were these problems reduced to manageable proportions. In spite of these handicaps, the towns did manage to achieve dignity and beauty. Towns were inordinately proud of their local townhouses, townhalls and cathedrals.

The Medieval Fair. All these were secondary purposes in the life of the town; its primary purpose was to do business. Merchandising was at first little more than peddling. Merchants went from castle

door to church door hawking their goods. An unusually favorable route lay in the Champagne region of France. It was almost all water route by means of the Rivers Rhône, Saône, Moselle and Seine.

In the twelfth century the powerful count of Champagne, Henry the Liberal (1152-1181), took advantage of this favored waterway to create a place where sellers and buyers could meet for mass trading; these were called 'fairs'. Henry himself undertook, for a price, to guarantee the success of the fairs. He set up booths for coin-changing booths for rapid conversion of multiple currencies and commercial courts for rapid disposal of commercial disputes. Besides rentals, Henry levied a sales tax for services rendered. All along the routes to the fair merchants were protected by the Count's vassals who were given a share of the profits. Once successfully launched at Champagne, the idea of the fair—the large-scale wholesale and retail market fully protected—spread throughout Europe. Spread of the fair led to uniformization of some of its features: the development of commercial law and of special courts to apply it, the use of bills of exchange, letters of credit and money as means of exchange, standards of weights and measures and the like.

The Hanseatic League. Fairs succeeded only when princes or kings were both strong and cooperative; they failed when princes and kings were weak or (more often) over-greedy. To protect themselves against the weak and greedy rulers, a number of the free towns in Germany—Cologne, Lübeck, Danzig, Hamburg—formed themselves into a Hanseatic League (ca. 13th c.). Thus organized they established permanent trading stations in other nations. (One such, Steelyard, gave London its start and originated "sterling" as a means of exchange.) They constructed, operated and maintained their own navy for war on pirates. They policed the trade routes. To unify their policies they maintained a representative assembly or diet. Until the fifteenth century, the Hanseatic League held a virtual monopoly of the Baltic herring fisheries, all trade out of Russia, and trade with England and the Low Countries.

The Merchant Guild. Within the towns merchants formed a distinct class, those who controlled the imports and exports of the town. The greatest threat to the survival of these merchants came from alien rivals. Therefore the merchants of the town set up iron-clad regulations that would ensure them monopoly control over the town's imports and exports. Alien merchants were forced to pay special

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translation of Latin classics (e.g. Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, Venerable Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*). He himself helped produce the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and inspired the work of Caedmon and Cynewulf, founders of English literature. By codifying the laws and by remarkable defense of his realm, Alfred gave the English a tradition of strong kingship that soon became legendary. His work was undone by weak successors and by the conquest of England by King Canute, the Dane (1016-1035). Canute's invasion forced many of the Anglo-Saxon nobility to flee to Normandy in France.

William the Conqueror. One such who fled was EDWARD THE CONFESSOR who in 1042 returned from Normandy to the throne of England. Edward brought with him many Norman advisers. Great rivalry developed between the Anglo-Saxon earls and these Norman nobles. When Edward died, the Witan (Council) selected Harold the Saxon (of Wessex) as king. WILLIAM, DUKE OF NORMANDY opposed this selection saying that Edward had promised the kingdom to him. In 1066 William invaded England and at the Battle of Hastings defeated Harold and his Anglo-Saxon forces. All of England fell as a feudal fief to the Conqueror.

Showing rare wisdom, William kept the govern-

... and when he placed officials directly responsible to himself. Thus he merged Anglo-Saxon institutions with Norman institutions.

William's intention was to create a centralized monarchy in which the king would be the only source of law and justice. He held all the land in the country, and he made the laws. He therefore made the nobles and knights dependent on him. In return, they fought for him and kept the peace in their own areas. This system is called the feudal system. William further strengthened his position by keeping a private standing militia for his use and prohibited private warfare. He issued a uniform royal currency. Even more remarkable for his time, William based his taxation upon the Domesday Survey (1085-1086), a national census of property holders and property. To defend his realm, William built castles everywhere and armed them with his own retainers.

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During the course of his reign, the English monarchy was considerably strengthened, particularly in the arena of judicial control. Henry's judicial reforms entered not only into the blood stream of the English nation, but into that of the United States as well. In the Assize of Clarendon of 1166 Henry did more than strengthen the king's justice. He initiated the participation of the people in the law-making process. The Clarendon Assize established the circuit judge as a permanent part of the English judicial system. When the circuit came to town, it was the duty of the sheriff to call up witnesses to give the judges information of existing wrongs. This practice created the grand jury which made "presentments" to the judges. In time these presentments were turned over to a petit jury ("twelve good men and true") to hear the presentments and pass judgment. He enlarged the jurisdiction of the king's courts, and he strengthened the common law.

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regulations, until he had made a "master's piece" which won the approval of the officers of the guild. Obviously, if the field was overcrowded, no masterpiece was approved, in fact, custom began to dictate that only the masterpieces of the sons or sons-in-law of the masters could gain approval.

It should be apparent that the tendency of these town institutions was toward the fixed and static so typical of all medieval life. Future capitalists, pressing onward toward free and wide enterprise, were going to find it necessary to destroy the power of the guilds as well as that of the feudal nobility and the hierarchy.

MEDIEVAL MONARCHIES

Medieval feudalism came to a close when the feudal lords were crushed by national monarchs and their fiefs were reabsorbed into the national state. This event did not occur overnight but within hundreds of years in the making. Monarchs had first to establish themselves and their families and win recognition of this establishment from the feudal lords and the clergy. Then they had to create an administrative organization within their own realms which could be expanded with territorial increase. Expansion of territory was vital to their success and for this purpose they required large sums of money to finance superior fighting forces. Above all they needed allies and these could only come from the peasantry and the middle class. Here we shall trace these developments within a number of developing national states.

ENGLAND

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These tribes were divided into seven kingdoms, the so-called Heptarchy. By the ninth century the kingdom of Wessex rose to power and produced one of England's great leaders, ALFRED THE GREAT (871-901). Alfred was able to establish a working relationship with the Danes who were threatening Anglo-Saxon England with extinction and then to initiate in England something of a "renaissance" of learning. He established schools and fostered the

translation of Latin classics (e.g., Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy*, *Venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*). He himself helped produce the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and inspired the work of *Caedmon* and *Cynewulf*, founders of English literature. By codifying the

weak successors and by the conquest of England by KING CANUTE, the Dane (1016-1035) Canute's invasion forced many of the Anglo-Saxon nobility to flee to Normandy in France.

William the Conqueror One such who fled was EDWARD THE CONFESSOR who in 1042 returned from Normandy to the throne of England. Edward brought with him many Norman advisers. Great rivalry developed between the Anglo-Saxon earls and these Norman nobles. When Edward died, the Witan (Council) selected Harold the Saxon (of Wessex) as king. WILLIAM, DUKE OF NORMANDY opposed this selection saying that Edward had promised the kingdom to him. In 1066 William invaded England and at the Battle of Hastings defeated Harold and his Anglo-Saxon forces. All of England fell as a feudal fief to the Conqueror. Showing rare wisdom, William kept the government institutions he found in England and infused with a new life. William destroyed the Anglo-Saxon earldoms, dividing them into smaller administrative units over them he placed officials directly responsible to himself. Thus he merged Anglo-Saxon institutions with

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Henry also resolved to reduce the power of the church courts by limiting the claim of "benefit of clergy" to major officials of the church. In this he was opposed by THOMAS A BECKET, the Archbishop of Canterbury. When Henry promulgated in 1164 the Constitutions of Clarendon which ordered that church officials accused of a crime should be taken before a royal court, Becket ordered churchmen to ignore the decree. After six years of dispute at Henry's instigation a group of his followers murdered Becket.

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succession Over the three hundred years the family never lacked for a male heir and since the eldest son was elected (by the nobles) and consecrated during the reign of the father, the French grew accustomed to the idea of hereditary succession. The Capetians moreover, had the support of the Church and capitalized on the claim that they were the direct descendants of Charles the Great. While the Capetians placed heavy reliance upon the feudal nobility, they did not ignore the middle class in the towns and as a result had extra levies of taxes and troops in their command. Finally, Capetian kings had the administrative genius that character-

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(1137) suppressed the disobedient vassals in the terrain of the Ile de France and placed the royal power on a firm basis there. PHILIP AUGUSTUS (1180-1223) strove to restore the might of Charlemagne in all of France. He secured about half of the Plantagenet possessions in France for his own state. He created an effective royal administration, he recruited a corps of personal servants from the lawyers of Paris steeped in the Roman (not feudal) law and from the motivated middle class he organized law courts to put the new concepts of royal sovereignty into effect. Before he died, Philip had created a central government for France that was winning the loyalty of many Frenchmen.

LOUIS IX (1226-1270) Louis religious activities won him sanctification as a model for French kings that followed him a dignity and presence that they would not have commanded without him. Louis created the impression among the French that the king was the supreme fount of justice and charity. He did not, however, place his sole reliance upon inspiration. He employed spies who served as the king's eyes and ears and held local officials to strict accountability, he created a broad system of national royal courts and forced the nobility to abandon private warfare in favor of legal settlement.

PHILIP THE FAIR (IV) (1285-1314) Thus Philip was the last of the Capetians. By means of craft and violence he built the wealth and power of the monarchy at the expense of the nobility and the papacy. He was France's first absolute monarch.

THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR

The House of Valois succeeded the House of Capet and was the immediate cause of the Hundred Years War (1337-1453). The English king Edward III, claimed that he was the legitimate heir

through his mother. According to the French Salic Law however no woman could inherit estates or transmit them to a son. When the French nobility rejected his claim, Edward began the conflict. There were other

one The possessions remaining English possession in Gascony. The French were striving to take over the English wool market in Flanders while the English were trying to eliminate French ships from the northern seas.

Battles. The Hundred Years War produced a number of military incidents that have delighted students of history since. First was the Battle of Crecy (1347) in which a smaller English force decimated the French and proved the superiority of a new weapon, the longbow, over the traditional short crossbow. The fact that the arrow from the longbow could pierce a knight's armor gave new importance to the role of the infantry in medieval war. As a result of Crecy, northern France and Calais fell to the English. A ten year truce followed out of necessity for in 1348-1349 the "Black Death" (bubonic plague) swept over Europe.

In 1356 the Black Prince Edward entered the fray and led the English to a tremendous victory at Poitiers. In the Peace of Breigny which followed the English surrendered their claims to the French throne and to Normandy in exchange for Poitou, Guienne, Gascony and Calais. The Black Prince ruled these provinces oppressively and the French rose in indignation at the attack again. They were defeated at Agincourt (1415) and in the Treaty of Troyes arrangements were made for English succession to the French throne.

At this low point in the life of the rising French nation there appeared on the scene JEANNE D'ARC (Joan of Arc). The story of this marvelous girl, her youth in the village of Domremy, her visions, her efforts to secure a hearing and a military command—all have been sufficiently celebrated in history, novel, poem and play. Here it need only be pointed out that as a result of Joan's activities the French experienced a resurgence of national spirit. The Dauphin was crowned at Rheims as Charles the VII, the English armies were driven from France (except Calais) and the Hundred Years War was brought to a close. Captured by the British, deserted by the man she made king, Joan died a martyr's death in 1434. In the twentieth century she was at last sanctified as Saint Joan.

Results. The Hundred Years War brought the French to the point of national unity. Large numbers of nobility were destroyed in battle and

in the Holy Land John, whose goals of a centralized monarchy were consistent with Henry's but whose abilities and character were far inferior, became involved in a war with the feudal nobility and in a terrible quarrel with Pope Innocent III. As a result of his quarrel with Innocent, he lost all of his kingdom to the pope as a fief, and as a result of his war with the nobility, having been defeated in the Battle of Runnymede, he was compelled to sign the Magna Carta which placed severe restrictions on the power of the king in matters of taxation and judicial trial. At the time it was signed, Magna Carta served the interests of the feudal system. Only later did it become the "charter of English liberties." To cap this sad climax to the efforts of Henry II to establish the royalty in England John proceeded to lose all of England's French possessions.

Edward I (1272-1307) When he came to the throne EDWARD I resumed the reforms that were begun by the two Henrys. He further weakened the baronial and church courts, he strengthened the civil service, he gave strong impetus to a new institution, the English Parliament, he began the union of all the British Isles under one crown by conquering Wales (and creating a post of Prince of Wales as successor to the Crown) and Ireland. His work with Parliament deserves special mention since here in was the 'wave of the future'.

The Development of Parliament Parliament is traced to the Anglo Saxon Witan a council of prominent nobles. William the Conqueror converted this into a Grand Council of nobles which served him in a judicial and advisory capacity.

Parliaments became popular in Europe during the second half of the thirteenth century as kings sought for revenues outside feudal dues to carry out their programs of national aggrandizement. It became customary to convene in assembly of three 'estates' the lords the clergy and the townsmen (bourgeoisie) as a means of raising money. Spain had its cortes, France its Estates General, Germany its diet and England its Parliament. In 1265 SIMON DE MONTFORT had convened on behalf of the feudal lords the first British Parliament. But it was Edward I who convened the Model Parliament.

Edward's purpose was to reduce his dependence upon the nobility for money and he therefore agreed in 1297, that certain taxes would be levied only with the consent of Parliament. By the 14th century, this Parliamentary power of the purse was ingrained in English practice—to the considerable regret of the monarchs who followed Edward

Not only had this custom begun to prevail, but it also became a custom for the lords temporal and lords spiritual to sit together as the House of Lords, while the others sat separately as the House of Commons.

Furthermore, when Parliament met, it became the practice of the House of Commons to submit to the king a 'list of grievances' which had to be taken care of before any money was voted. When England became involved in the Hundred Years War, and the financial drain became severe, the House of Commons began to insist on directing how the funds should be spent. For this to be legal, it became further necessary for the Commons to draw up a law which stipulated the way the money should be spent. Thus, in the Middle Ages grew up one of the primary forms of modern democracy.

The Hundred Years War (1337-1450) The wars between England and France in the years between 1337 and 1450 were largely inspired by the desire of the kings of England who followed Edward to repossess their French holdings. As a result of these wars, England was driven permanently off the continent and forced to concentrate upon the British Isles. British kings became more and more dependent upon Parliament. Parliament became more and more independent in such matters as freedom of Parliamentary debate, extension of suffrage for Parliamentary members, the right of all money bills to originate in the House of Commons and not the House of Lords. The king's power having been weakened by war and parliament, the power of the nobility rose.

The Wars of the Roses (1453-1485) The English baronial class split into two factions, Lancaster and York—Lancaster of the Red Rose and York of the White Rose (their emblems). Both factions struggled for control of the monarchy and of Parliament. The result was a lengthy civil war known as the War of the Roses (celebrated in Shakespeare's History Plays). As a result of this civil war the feudal nobility virtually exterminated one another and permitted Henry VII of the House of Tudor to come to power. With Henry VII, England moves from the Middle Ages to modern history.

FRANCE

The concept of royal absolutism in France was the work of a remarkable line of kings, all members of the Capetian dynasty. This dynasty remained in office for 341 years—from 987 to 1328. A considerable amount of luck entered into the Capetian

succession. Over the three hundred years the family never lacked for a male heir and since the eldest son was elected (by the nobles) and consecrated during the reign of the father the French grew accustomed to the idea of hereditary succession. The Capetians moreover had the support of the Church and capitalized on the claim that they were the direct descendants of Charles the Great. While the Capetians placed heavy reliance upon the feudal nobility they did not ignore the middle class in the towns and as a result had extra levies of taxes and troops at their command. Finally Capetian kings had the administrative genius that characterized their English contemporaries.

Capetian Kings. **HUGH CAPET** (987-996) Count of Paris, founded the dynasty. **LOUIS THE FAT** (1108-1137) suppressed the disobedient vassals in the region of the Ile de France and placed the royal power on a firm basis there. **PHILIP AUGUSTUS** (1180-1223) strove to restore the might of Charlemagne in all of France. He secured about half of the Plantagenet possessions in France for his own state, he created an effective royal administration, he recruited a corps of personal servants from the lawyers of Paris steeped in the Roman (not feudal) law and from the educated middle class he organized law courts to put the new concepts of royal sovereignty into effect. Before he died, Philip had created a central government for France that was winning the loyalty of many Frenchmen.

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PHILIP THE FAIR (11) (1285-1314) Thus Philip was the last of the Capetians. By means of craft and violence he built the wealth and power of the monarchy at the expense of the nobility and the papacy. He was France's first absolute monarch.

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The House of Valois succeeded the House of Capet and was the immediate cause of the Hundred Years War (1337-1453). The English king Edward III claimed that he was the legitimate heir

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In 1356 the Black Prince Edward entered the fray and led the English to a tremendous victory at Poitiers. In the Peace of Bretigny which followed the English surrendered their claims to the French throne and to Normandy, in exchange for Poitou, Guienne, Gascony, and Calais. The Black Prince ruled these provinces oppressively and the French rose in indignation to the attack again. They were defeated at Agincourt (1415) and in the Treaty of Troyes arrangements were made for English succession to the French throne.

At this low point in the life of the rising French nation there appeared on the scene JEANNE D'ARC (Joan of Arc). The story of this marvelous girl, her youth in the village of Domremy, her visions, her efforts to secure a hearing and a military command—all have been sufficiently celebrated in history, novel, poem and play. Here it need only be pointed out that as a result of Joan's activities the French experienced a resurgence of national spirit. The Dauphin was crowned at Rheims as Charles the VII. The English armies were driven from France (except Calais) and the Hundred Years War was brought to a close. Captured by the British, deserted by the man she made king, Joan died a martyr's death in 1434. In the twentieth century she was at last sanctified as Saint Joan.

Results. The Hundred Years War brought the French to the point of national unity. Large numbers of nobility were destroyed in battle and

in the Holy Land John, whose goals of a centralized monarchy were consistent with Henry's but whose abilities and character were far inferior, became involved in a war with the feudal nobility and in a terrible quarrel with Pope Innocent III. As a result of his quarrel with Innocent, he lost all of his kingdom to the pope as a fief, and as a result of his war with the nobility, having been defeated in the Battle of Runnymede, he was compelled to sign the Magna Carta which placed severe restrictions on the power of the king in matters of taxation and judicial trial. At the time it was signed, Magna Carta served the interests of the feudal system. Only later did it become the "charter of English liberties." To cap this sad climax to the efforts of Henry II to establish the royalty in England, John proceeded to lose all of England's French possessions.

Edward I (1272-1307). When he came to the throne EDWARD I resumed the reforms that were begun by the two Henrys. He further weakened the baronial and church courts, he strengthened the civil service, he gave strong impetus to a new institution, the English Parliament, he began the union of all the British Isles under one crown by conquering Wales (and creating a post of Prince of Wales as successor to the Crown) and Ireland. His work with Parliament deserves special mention since here-in is the 'wave of the future.'

The Development of Parliament. Parliament is traced to the Anglo-Saxon Witan a council of prominent nobles. William the Conqueror converted this into a Grand Council of nobles which served him in a judicial and advisory capacity.

Parliaments became popular in Europe during the second half of the thirteenth century as kings sought for revenues outside feudal dues to carry out their programs of national aggrandizement. It became customary to convene an assembly of three "estates," the lords, the clergy and the townsmen (bourgeoisie) as a means of raising money. Spain had its cortes, France its Estates General, Germany its diet and England its Parliament. In 1265 Simon de Montfort had convened on behalf of the feudal lords, the first British Parliament. But it was Edward I who convened the Model Parliament."

Edward's purpose was to reduce his dependence upon the nobility for money and he therefore agreed, in 1297, that certain taxes would be levied only with the consent of Parliament. By the 14th century, this Parliamentary "power of the purse" was ingrained in English practice—to the considerable regret of the monarchs who followed Edward

Not only had this custom begun to prevail, but it also became a custom for the lords temporal and lords spiritual to sit together as the House of Lords, while the others sat separately as the House of Commons.

Furthermore, when Parliament met, it became the practice of the House of Commons to submit to the king a 'list of grievances' which had to be taken care of before any money was voted. When England became involved in the Hundred Years War, and the financial drain became severe, the House of Commons began to insist on directing how the funds should be spent. For this to be legal, it became further necessary for the Commons to draw up a law which stipulated the way the money should be spent. Thus, in the Middle Ages, grew up one of the primary forms of modern democracy.

The Hundred Years War (1337-1450). The wars between England and France in the years between 1337 and 1450 were largely inspired by the desire of the kings of England who followed Edward to repossess their French holdings. As a result of these wars, England was driven permanently off the continent and forced to concentrate upon the British Isles. British kings became more and more dependent upon Parliament. Parliament became more and more independent in such matters as freedom of Parliamentary debate, extension of suffrage for Parliamentary members, the right of all money bill to originate in the House of Commons and not the House of Lords. The kings' power having been weakened by war and parliament the power of the nobility rose.

The Wars of the Roses (1453-1485). The English landed class split into two factions, Lancaster and York—Lancaster of the "Red Rose" and York of the "White Rose" (their emblems). Both factions fought for control of the monarchy and of Parliament. The result was a lengthy civil war known as the War of the Roses (celebrated in Shakespeare's *Henry VI*). As a result of this civil war the feudal nobility virtually exterminated and thereafter in the reign of Henry VII of the House of Tudor to come power. With Henry VII, England moves from the Middle Ages to modern history.

FRANCE

The concept of royal absolutism in France was the work of a remarkable line of kings, all members of the Capetian dynasty. This dynasty remained in office for 341 years—from 987 to 1328. A considerable amount of luck entered into the Capetian

succession. Over the three hundred years the family never lacked for a male heir and since the eldest son was elected (by the nobles) and consecrated during the reign of the father the French grew accustomed to the idea of hereditary success on. The Capetians moreover had the support of the Church and capitalized on the claim that they were the direct descendants of Charles the Great. While the Capetians placed heavy reliance upon the feudal nobility, they did not ignore the middle class in the towns and as a result had extra levies of taxes and troops at their command. Finally, Capetian kings had the administrative genius that characterized their English contemporaries.

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Results. The Hundred Years War resulted in French to the possession of large numbers of nobles.

thus removed as a challenge to royal power. The French kings experienced an increase in power as they secured direct control over the armed forces and resorted more and more to direct taxation. England was cleared from the continent of Europe. (Of great importance for the future of the feudal system was the fact that during the siege of Calais the first cannon made their appearance in warfare.)

SPAIN

In the period under consideration (ca 1000-1450) Spain was engaged in a re-conquest of the Iberian Peninsula from the Moorish Moslems established at Cordova. Leaders in this move or crusade to oust the Moslem were the Spanish states of Leon, Castile and Portugal. The great and legendary hero of this Spanish crusade was RODRIGO DIAZ DE BIVAR ('El Cid').

By the end of the 13th century Moorish power was relegated to one center in Spain, Granada. Complete unification did not come until that fateful year 1492 when the Moors were driven from Granada. Meanwhile the foundations of Spanish nationalism were laid in 1469 when Isabella of Castile married Ferdinand of Aragon. These rulers were most adept at building up the royal power. They converted La Santa Hermandad, a holy brotherhood into a strong police force, they crushed all unruly nobles through the Holy Inquisition, they destroyed the cortes one of the oldest of European parliaments. Few monarchies in Europe were as absolute as the Spanish.

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

While other European nations took the path of national unity, Germany and Italy did not become united nations until the nineteenth century. The reasons for this failure were numerous. German emperors dissipated their energies in an effort to unite Germany and Italy, a policy that was opposed as we have seen by the papacy and the powerful Italian towns. The popes were particularly effective in preventing this union. They openly interfered in imperial elections within Germany and kept that nation split in perpetual war between Guelph and Ghibelline, they used their extensive powers of excommunication and interdict against such strong rulers as Barbarossa, Henry VI and Frederick II and, when these failed, they invited foreigners like Charles of Anjou (1265) to make war on the Germans.

The Germans themselves made a unified nation nearly impossible by measures continually adopted

to weaken the Emperor. For five hundred years thereafter there was no Germany—just a series of archduchies, margravates, counties, duchies and free cities known as the Germanies.

Italy suffered the same fate. The lead in preventing the unification of the Italian states was taken once more by the popes who feared for their vast possessions in Italy and by the short sighted Italian cities. Constant invasion plagued the Italians as well. Following the decline of the Carolingian power Italy was invaded by the Normans who settled in Sicily. The Normans provided Italy with models of intelligent rule, laws were codified, a parliament was created (1225), trade and commerce were fostered. Because it threatened their power, the popes invited the French Angevins into Italy as conquerors. So bitter was the Italian resentment against the French that in 1282 at Palermo they rose up at the hour of vespers, and murdered every Frenchman they could find (This massacre is known in history as the Sicilian Vespers). When the French left it became the turn of the Spaniard Alfonso of Aragon to conquer Sicily and Naples (1443). In 1494 Charles the VIII of France invaded Italy, but by this time Italy's will to exist as a nation was destroyed.

Out of this failure in government a new state was born—Switzerland. While Frederick II was king he permitted two Swiss citizens to become self governing—subject to his overlordship. A habit of independence was born. When in 1291 Rudolph of Hapsburg, the German ruler, decided to remove their independent rights, the Swiss cantons formed a Perpetual Compact or alliance directed against Rudolph. Their resistance was successful. In 1315 the frustrated Hapsburgs moved an army against the Swiss and were soundly beaten by boulders rolled down the declivities of the cantons. Their success encouraged the Swiss to organize a confederation. In 1394 the Hapsburgs compromised with necessity and recognized Swiss independence. Out of this struggle came the legend of William Tell.

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During the Middle Ages the Scandinavian countries were first beginning to stir. Denmark was the first state to rise to some power. In the Union of Calmar of 1397 she became the ruler of Norway and Sweden. Danish influence was swept out of Sweden by 1521. After many years of independent existence the Czechs (Bohemians) fell successively under Polish, Hungarian and finally Austrian rule. The Lithuanians and the Lithuanians and

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

CULTURE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

INTRODUCTION

Everyone living in the Middle Ages in Europe felt the impact of the Catholic Church upon his daily life.

The Church as we have seen was a holder of estates it conditioned and at times dictated the roles played by secular governments. It was a sacerdotal state within a state. It lived by its own law which in 1147 was codified by Gratian as *Decretum*. It had its own law courts to try those who had "benefit of Clergy" or cases arising from conflicts involving wills, sworn contracts, magic, blasphemy, sorcery, etc. It was the prime guide to the moral life of men and women. In this latter role it dictated that wealth was a temptation to sinning; that individual business enterprise was morally dangerous; that price regulation, the charging of interest for loans, bidding, outbidding, monopolizing and the like were outlawed activities; that work was dignified and worthy of Christians; that men and women must accept their status in life as trials of their true.

The Church defined the relationship of sexes. Woman was a potential source of evil, chastity was glorified. Marriage as a holy sacrament sanctioned sexual relations but for procreative purposes only. Divorce was prohibited. Within the family the husband was dominant. Finally, whatever social security medieval men knew—in hunger, sickness, old age—came from the hands of the Church. This overwhelming power of the Church was inevitably reflected in the culture of the Middle Ages.

MEDIEVAL THOUGHT

The Dark Ages (5th-9th c.) Christianity was itself a force in the decline of Greco-Roman civilization. Its attack upon "paganism" involved not

only the physical destruction of the works of the classical masters, but a transformation of their modes of thinking into Christian forms. Christianity determined that the orientation of thought should be turned to the otherworldly, the supernatural, the miraculous, the revealed and the authoritative aspects of knowledge. Where rational modes of thought or direct observation of phenomena could serve these aims they were used.

Great reliance had to be placed, however, upon the methods of allegory and symbolism. Through allegory churchmen could argue that the point of a Biblical story or statement is figurative and not literal, implied and not stated. By means of symbolism all kinds of secondary and tertiary meanings could be found in the phenomena of nature. In this manner what seemed contradictory or impossible or unworthy of the conduct of good Christians could be satisfactorily explained and fitted into the general corpus of knowledge.

It was clear to medieval churchmen and laymen that all that happened was part of a divine plan moving in the direction of a Last Judgment. Reason, when properly used, could find some of the purposes of this divine plan as they affected man and his institutions. In their search for purposes in the universe, churchmen did not rule out the possibilities of divine intervention through the miraculous. The fundamental groundwork of medieval thought, then, was faith, faith in what had been revealed and faith in what established authority said was continuing to be revealed.

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compiling and classifying what remained of Roman-Christian civilization

During the Dark Ages in Europe grammars were written, translations were made of the works of Aristotle and Porphyry, and encyclopedias of information (filled with error) were compiled of considerable importance for the future was the establishment by Martianus Capella and Cassiodorus of a curriculum of study 'Seven Liberal Arts' were established and then divided into a *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric and logic) and a *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music). The works of Boethius (d. 524) were also of considerable importance. In his writings on Christian themes Boethius was the first to try to fuse the philosophy of Aristotle with Christian theology. Moreover, he supplied philosophic discipline with a Latin vocabulary. His most widely read and translated work, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, was, however, neo-Platonic and Stoic rather than Christian in its de-emphasis of the problems of sin and salvation.

Scholasticism Beginning with the Carolingian Renaissance a philosophical rebirth took place. Charles had founded palace and cloister schools and had brought Alcuin from York to introduce the *trivium* and *quadrivium* into them. Such schools spread rapidly into urban centers in England, France, Germany and Italy. Teachers at these schools were called "schoolmen" and their approach to the subjects in the *trivium* and *quadrivium* was known as scholastic. As this approach grew into a philosophy, it became known as Scholasticism. However, Scholasticism never became *one* philosophy, based on *one* method; it included a number of philosophies and a number of methods each depending on initial premises, and many arriving at different conclusions. Debate often violent, featured scholastic thought in the Middle Ages.

Yet scholastic philosophy is distinguished from non-scholastic philosophy by a number of criteria. It was the philosophy of a Christian society and as such was based upon accepted authority in the forms of tradition and revealed religion. Tradition bound the scholastics to the systems of Aristotle and Plato as adapted to Christian thought. The problems to which the scholastic thinkers applied themselves were controlled by theology; rational interests were never permitted to push religious pre-occupations aside. Put otherwise, philosophy was always subordinate to theology.

Scholastic methods were based on Greek logic; concern was with deduction, systematization and

formal logic. To Greek logic Scholastics added a unique pedagogical device which involved eight distinct steps:

- 1 State the question or proposition.
- 2 Give a succinct listing of the negative arguments.
- 3 Make a brief statement of the affirmative and give a citation of authority.
- 4 State the principle difficulties and doubts which inhere in the proposition.
- 5 Now give a detailed presentation of the negative.
- 6 Follow with a detailed presentation of the affirmative and include refutation of the negative.
- 7 Explain and solve the inherent doubts.
- 8 Summarize by once more disposing of the negative.

In their logic, Scholastics made considerable use of the "Tree of Porphyry." From Aristotle on thinkers had sought to arrange all knowledge into a hierarchy of 'forms'. Porphyry's arrangement was as follows:

	Substance	
Corporeal		Incorporeal
	Body	
Animate		Inanimate
	Living Thing	
Sensitive		Insensitive
	Animal	
Rational		Irrational
	Man	
	Individuals A B C etc.	

This tree enabled one to determine quickly that any human individual is a rational, sensitive, animate, corporeal substance. In other words it provided thinkers with their initial premises on which to build a syllogism. For example, from the Tree we secure the major premise—

Man is a rational animal

This leads to the minor premise—

Plato is a man

From these two premises the conclusion follows—

Plato is a rational animal

In the medieval mind the major premises were provided by fixed and unalterable belief derived from faith in revelation and authority; hence the main concern of thinkers was with minor premises and conclusions. One could not safely question the validity of the major premises until the Church lost its power to punish free thought. (When men arose to test, observe, weigh, and challenge the major premises of the Scholastics, the scientific revolution was in the making.)

SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY

Within the framework described above, scholastic philosophy made tremendous strides. It was forged in the heat of debate. In the ninth century, in original and daring thinker, JOHN SCOTUS ERICENA (DUNS SCOTUS), had produced a work which raised reason above revelation and authority and which dissolved all of nature into a pantheistic reality. Substance, bodies, living things, animals and men were all emanations from a single source, God, and in essence were indistinguishable. A little later, BERNARD OF TOURS had raised many questions about the "reality" of transubstantiation. This problem of the "reality" of that which was not given directly to the senses became the so-called 'problem of universals,' which is central in the history of medieval thought.

The Problem of Universals Plato and Aristotle had earlier differed here. Human beings perceive many particular objects—these trees, those rocks, etc. They also use general terms for all trees and all rocks—these terms being simply *tree* and *rock*—without reference to a particular object. For Plato the idea or form of a rock or tree had more reality—both in logic and in being—than any particular specimen. Aristotle insisted that the mind gets the idea of any particular from the visible object itself. For Aristotle the universal was a classification made by the mind, for Plato it was the truer reality.

Belief in the one or the other of these propositions converted medieval scholars into "Realists" (those who agreed with Plato) and "Nominalists" (those who reduced universals to the names of things). ST ANSELM headed the former and ROSCELLINUS (c. 1050) the latter.

Thus was no pointless quibble. Nominalists said there was no transubstantiation in the Eucharist since the bread and wine remained visibly unchanged; there was no Church Universal apart from separate and individual church groups; there was no Unity in any Trinity, etc. In other words, Nominalists challenged any concept for which visible evidence was lacking. Anselm pointed out that this challenge was but a short distance from heresy. Roscellinus was, in fact, convicted of heresy in the matter of the Trinity and he was forced to recant his views.

PETER ABELARD (1079-1142) produced a compromise in his doctrine of Conceptualism. His compromise was that a universal has no objective existence as such, it exists as a concept in the mind.

The mental concept, however, is derived from observation of particular things and from taking note of the similarities or identities in their qualities. From these real identities the concept is made. In this sense it has objective reality.

Abelard. Abelard was typical of the 'new man' that was arising in the Middle Ages. He was a troubadour poet and composer, a bold lover (his love for Heloise is famous as one of the world's great love stories), a fearless and brilliant scholar, a ruthless debater and logician, a free and inquiring spirit. Abelard came into conflict with St Bernard who was his complete opposite—ascetic, relying completely on faith, distrusting reason. Against Bernard, Abelard argued that thought must begin in doubt for doubt leads to inquiry and inquiry to the truth. For his own satisfaction Abelard composed the *Sic et Non*, a book which proposed 158 questions concerning faith and reason. About these questions, Abelard collected arguments for (Sic) and of

the *Sentences*, THOMAS AQUINAS in the 13th century. The significance of Abelard's work was that following him there could be no reliance any more on faith alone.

The Revival of Aristotelianism. Abelard's insistence on logical rigor gave an impetus to the study of Aristotle. The time was ripe, for from Moslem lands the works of Aristotle were being imported into Europe and translated into Latin. Once acquainted with Aristotle's writings, ALEXANDER OF HALEX, JOHN OF FIDENZA and ALBERTUS MAGNUS began the task of fusing his teachings with Christian theology and philosophy. ST THOMAS AQUINAS (1225-1274) was a pupil of Albertus Magnus and set himself to the task of creating a synthesis or *summa* of all knowledge—rational and revealed. In his monumental *Summa Theologiae*, Aquinas made the major summary of the Christian synthesis. He is the greatest of the medieval thinkers.

The Thomistic System. St Thomas was a theologian and his work in philosophy must be regarded in the light of its relation to theology. His problem was to introduce philosophy into religion without corrupting the essence and nature of theology. Theology treated of the revealed and the revelation must remain intact. But some truths in theology (e.g., God's existence) can be ascertained without revelation.

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compiling and classifying what remained of Roman-Christian civilization.

During the Dark Ages in Europe grammars were written, translations were made of the works of Aristotle and Porphyry, and encyclopedias of information (filled with error) were compiled. Of considerable importance for the future was the establishment by Martianus Capella and Cassiodorus of a curriculum of study. "Seven Liberal Arts" were established and then divided into a trivium (grammar, rhetoric and logic) and a quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music). The works of Boethius (d. 524) were also of considerable importance. In his writings on Christian themes Boethius was the first to try to fuse the philosophy of Aristotle with Christian theology. Moreover, he supplied philosophic discipline with a Latin vocabulary. His most widely read and translated work, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, was, however, neo-Platonic and Stoic rather than Christian in its de-emphasis of the problems of sin and salvation.

Scholasticism. Beginning with the Carolingian Renaissance a philosophical rebirth took place. Charles had founded palace and cloister schools and had brought Alcuin from York to introduce the trivium and quadrivium into them. Such schools spread rapidly into urban centers in England, France, Germany and Italy. Teachers at these schools were called "schoolmen" and their approach to the subjects in the trivium and quadrivium was known as scholastic. As this approach grew into a philosophy, it became known as Scholasticism. However, Scholasticism never became one philosophy, based on one method; it included a number of philosophies and a number of methods each depending on initial premises, and many arriving at different conclusions. Debate, often violent, featured scholastic thought in the Middle Ages.

Yet scholastic philosophy is distinguished from non-scholastic philosophy by a number of criteria. It was the philosophy of a Christian society and as such was based upon accepted authority in the forms of tradition and revealed religion. Tradition bound the scholastics to the systems of Aristotle and Plato as adapted to Christian thought. The problems to which the scholastic thinkers applied themselves were controlled by theology; rational interests were never permitted to push religious pre-occupations aside. Put otherwise, philosophy was always subordinate to theology.

Scholastic methods were based on Greek logic; concern was with deduction, systematization and

formal logic. To Greek logic Scholastics added a unique pedagogical device which involved eight distinct steps:

1. State the question or proposition.
2. Give a succinct listing of the negative arguments.
3. Make a brief statement of the affirmative and give a citation of authority.
4. State the principle difficulties and doubts which inhere in the proposition.
5. Now give a detailed presentation of the negative.
6. Follow with a detailed presentation of the affirmative and include refutation of the negative.
7. Explain and solve the inherent doubts.
8. Summarize by once more disposing of the negative.

In their logic, Scholastics made considerable use of the "Tree of Porphyry." From Aristotle on thinkers had sought to arrange all knowledge into a hierarchy of "forms." Porphyry's arrangement was as follows:

Substance		
Corporeal	Body	Incorporeal
Animate	Living Thing	Inanimate
Sensitive	Animal	Insensitive
Rational	Man	Irrational
Individuals A, B, C etc.		

This tree enabled one to determine quickly that any human individual is a rational, sensitive, animate, corporeal substance. In other words, it provided thinkers with their initial premises on which to build a syllogism. For example, from the Tree we secure the major premise—

Man is a rational animal.

This leads to the minor premise—

Plato is a man.

From these two premises the conclusion follows—

Plato is a rational animal.

In the medieval mind the major premises were provided by fixed and unalterable belief derived from faith in revelation and authority; hence the main concern of thinkers was with minor premises and conclusions. One could not safely question the validity of the major premises until the Church lost its power to punish free thought. (When men arose to test, observe, weigh, and challenge the major premises of the Scholastics, the scientific revolution was in the making.)

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studied it as *existent* being. He started with the existing world and asked what its being is, how it exists, what is the condition of its existence, etc. At the same time he concentrated upon supreme existence, on Being that is its own cause. By placing his emphasis upon existence Thomas advanced philosophy beyond Plato and Aristotle who emphasized essence rather than existence. God, of course, was both essence and existence; any other existence was a creation by God. Concentration upon existence made Thomas begin with sense-experience from the visible world. Even in his proofs of the existence of God, Thomas began with the visible world.

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The human intellect cannot apprehend God directly. It comes to knowledge through the senses. Outside are corporeal objects that act on the senses and produce particulars. The particular proceeds to the intellect which has the capacity to make an abstraction and derive a universal. There are no innate ideas in the mind; all knowledge begins with sense perception. The human mind cannot therefore, in this life, attain knowledge of immaterial substances that are not the object of the senses. But sense impressions can suggest, by analogy and logic, what immaterial substances may be like.

Everything seeks to fulfill its potentialities; such fulfillment is perfection. Evil is relative to good and is the failure of a thing to reach its proper form. Since all things come from God they are either actually or potentially good; evil is negative, a deficiency in being, an incomplete realization of its potential. Evil exists but it is not real since it is not a part of but the absence of being.

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MEDIEVAL UNIVERSITIES

Universities began to form in the twelfth century. In its inception a university stood for a kind of guild or corporation; later it became particularized as a guild of learners and teachers. In this form, universities began to receive charters from royal and ecclesiastical authorities giving them special rights or immunities. Bologna was an early university center. Students flocked to that town to study civil law. At first the university at Bologna was

controlled completely by the students. It was they who organized living quarters, qualifications for teaching standards of teaching performance, courses of study, etc. The masters, however, were permitted to decide in the matter of granting degrees. To Paris came students who wished to study theology. Before long, however, the university there has been divided into separate faculties of arts, canon law, medicine and theology. Customary degrees granted were Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts, Doctor of Laws, Doctor of Theology and Doctor of Medicine. The standard undergraduate curriculum was the trivium and quadrivium. Slowly graduate schools began to specialize. Paris remained the center for theology, and Bologna for law, for medicine, however, one went to Salerno or Padua in Italy, or Montpellier in France.

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Latin Writings. Latin remained the language of scholarship well into the seventeenth century, it was also the language of some delightful and moving religious and secular verse. During the Dark Ages religious verse was closely related to rounding out the form of the liturgy in the church services or to the recitation of prayers in the Benedictine monasteries. In the hands of such figures as Abelard, St. Bernard and St. Francis religious verse emerged to the open air. Latin was employed for secular verses too. Ekkehard produced an epic, the *Song of Walter*, that described the terrors of the Hunnish invasion. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries appeared the "goliardic" poems composed by wandering monks, teachers and students. These poems are most curious. They dealt broadly with various themes, with chivalric love, with extremely profane love, they were at once ecstatically religious, mockingly irreligious and even pagan. Some poems were written in Latin, those of Gregory of Tours, Cassiodorus and the ~~VEREABLY~~ ^{VEREABLY} ~~BEDE~~ ^{BEDE} being most notable—not so much as history, but as interesting insight into the Dark Ages.

Vernacular. After the ninth century vernacular tongues rose to challenge the supremacy of Latin. Two broad groupings of vernacular appeared, the Romance and the Germanic. The former embraced Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese and Rumanian, the latter took in German, the Scandinavian tongues, Dutch and English. Out of these vernaculars came a great literature.

French. One of the most popular productions of the French vernacular tongue (employing the

langue d'oïl or dialect of the northern part of France) was the *chanson de geste*. This was an epic of legendary heroes that centered about the life of Charlemagne. The *Song of Roland*, describing the wars of Charlemagne against the Spanish Moors, remains to this day a "children's classic." Its chivalric ideals of heroism have an eternal fascination. So, too, have the Arthurian Romances, the tales of the Round Table and its many knights, which were also a product of northern French vernacular bards. Romance was a favorite theme, some dealt with classical subjects, others with love themes. *Aucassin and Nicolette* is a particularly good example of the French romance of this period.

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The Decline of Scholasticism. Attacks on the Thomistic synthesis came from within the ranks of the Scholastics. *Marsilius of Padua* (1270-1327) found flaws in Thomistic logic and suggested that major premises needed some other form of justification. *William of Ockham* (1280-1349) drove a sharp wedge between faith and reason, revived Nominalism and brought European thought close to the experimental method of investigation. The reasoning of pure Aquinas scholastics became so tortuous that men were repelled by philosophy in general and began to seek other means of acquiring knowledge. By the 14th century, Scholasticism was clearly outmoded; it was far too static for the dynamic forces that had been released by the first winds of the Renaissance, the Commercial and Scientific Revolutions and the Reformation.

MEDIEVAL UNIVERSITIES

Universities began to form in the twelfth century. In its inception a university stood for a kind of guild or corporation; later it became particularly used as a guild of learners and teachers. In this form, universities began to receive charters from royal and ecclesiastical authorities giving them special rights and immunities. Bologna was an early university center. Students flocked to that town to study civil law. At first the university at Bologna was

controlled completely by the students. It was they who organized living quarters, qualifications for teaching standards of teaching performance courses of study etc. The masters, however, were permitted to decide in the matter of granting degrees. To Paris came students who wished to study theology. Before long however the university there had been divided into separate faculties of arts, canon law, medicine and theology. Customary degrees granted were Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts, Doctor of Laws, Doctor of Theology and Doctor of Medicine. The standard undergraduate curriculum was the trivium and quadrivium. Slowly graduate schools began to specialize. Paris remained the center for theology and Bologna for law, for medicine, however, one went to Salerno or Padua in Italy or Montpellier in France.

MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

Latin Writings. Latin remained the language of scholarship well into the seventeenth century. It was also the language of some delightful and moving religious and secular verse. During the Dark Ages religious verse was closely related to rounding out the form of the liturgy in the church services or to the recitation of prayers in the Benedictine monasteries. In the hands of such figures as Abelard and Bernard and St. Francis religious verse emerged. **Vernacular Latin** was employed for secular verse too. Ekkehard produced an epic, the *Song of Walther* that described the terrors of the Hunnish invasion. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries appeared the "goliardic" poems composed by wandering monks, teachers and students. These creations are most curious. They dealt broadly with nature themes, with chivalric love, with extremely profane love—they were at once ecstatically religious, mockingly irreligious and even pagan. Some histories were written in Latin, those of Gregory of Tours, Cassiodorus and the venerable Bede being most notable—not so much as history but as interesting insights into the Dark Ages.

Vernacular. After the ninth century vernacular tongues rose to challenge the supremacy of Latin. Two broad groupings of vernacular appeared: the Romance and the Germanic. The former embraced Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese and Rumanian; the latter took in German, the Scandinavian tongues, Dutch and English. Out of these came a great literature.

French. One of the most popular productions of the French vernacular tongue (employing the

langue d'oïl or dialect of the northern part of France) was the *chanson de geste*. This was an epic of legendary heroes that centered about the life of Charlemagne. The *Song of Roland*, describing the wars of Charlemagne against the Spanish Moors remains to this day a children's classic. Its chivalric ideals of heroism have an eternal fascination. So too, have the Arthurian Romances, the tales of the Round Table and its many knights, which were also a product of northern French vernacular bards. Romance was a favorite theme, some dealt with classical subjects, others with love themes. *Aucassin and Nicolette* is a particularly good example of the French romance of this period.

Southern France produced a Provençal literature under the influence of the troubadours and utilizing the *langue d'oc* dialect. Provençal was less stately, less formal than the northern literature and dealt lightly and gayly with worldly subjects. Realistic and satirical writing donned the cloak of concealment in the form of animal fables and allegories. The most noteworthy allegory was the *Roman de la Rose* combining a tender love story with a biting exposure of the evils of the age. Finally, Villehardouin produced a brilliant history of the Crusades in his *History of the Conquest of Constantinople*, and Joinville wrote a classic *Life of St. Louis*. Both of these volumes enjoy wide reading to this day.

German. Most people know the *Nibelungenlied*, a product of medieval vernacular German through the operas of Richard Wagner. This epic is of Siegfried and Brunhild and takes place in the time of the invasion of Europe by Attila the Hun. Von Eschenbach in his *Lancelot* rounded out one part of the Arthurian cycle. Von Strassburg gave to the world the immortal tale of Tristan and Isolde. Walter von der Vogelweide, a minnesinger (troubadour) wrote charming lyrics, worthy of his French models.

English. England too produced a number of Arthurian cycles, fabliaux romances, lyrics, epics and allegories. But vernacular had greater difficulty in England than elsewhere because of the Norman invasion. Polite society after the invasion spoke Norman French; the common people spoke Anglo-Saxon. It took considerable time before the two languages merged. The man who gave shape to the merger of the two tongues was GILBERT CHAUCER (1340-1400). Chaucer's work, however, belongs

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To the entrepreneur this system was still not ideal. The cost was high since the craftsman made the whole product and insisted in producing quality goods, the entrepreneur depended upon the craftsman who owned the tools, the small number of craftsmen kept wages high, production was limited, invention of new tools was discouraged since craftsmen could not afford to finance them, etc. Over the years, the attractiveness of the craftsman's position brought many new workers into the field. Entrepreneurs took advantage of this situation by lowering wages considerably. The lowering of wages had the effect of increasing the dependence of the craftsman upon the entrepreneur. To get more money the craftsman had to give up his farming and put his wife and children to work. Under pressure to make more, the craftsman became less concerned with the quality of the product. The entrepreneur, in turn, got poorer goods and found it increasingly difficult to supervise many workers in their homes. The time soon came when a more radical innovation in manufacturing processes would have to be made. For this period, however, the domestic system served admirably to build up the quantity of trade, the wealth of the entrepreneurs and to destroy effectively the power of the guilds.

Finance. Financing by means of money grew side by side with commerce and manufacturing. Professional money lending was an old practice by 1400. As early as the 10th century monasteries began to engage in extensive money lending generally to local peasants and landlords. Political loans were on occasion made to Emperors, Popes and high feudal lords. Later, the knightly orders (Templars, Hospitallers, etc.) played the part of kings of finance and supplied credit needs.

In the medieval cities the role of professional lenders fell to the Lombards, Jews and money-changers. Medieval Jews, prohibited from becoming farmers or artisans had been among the first to engage in commerce. The rise of Christian mer-

chants forced them out of this business and into the business of money lending since they were not subject to church prohibitions and money lending was a necessary function in an expanding economy. Christians permitted them to settle in specified areas only if they would make loans, Jews paid with their lives if they refused to make a loan when security was offered. Jews, then, won "toleration" so that Christians might evade the church's prohibition of "usury," though the latter of course reaped the rewards of usury.

Soon, however, the Italian Lombards became active competitors of the Jews. Their loans went out to the urban merchants, feudal lords and handicraftsmen. The Lombards discovered that they might lend out more money than they had (since some was always being paid back)—but not safely. Therefore, they began to solicit interest-bearing deposits (a practice forbidden to the Jews). This was the origin of commercial banking. Other methods—such as bills of exchange, bank drafts and bank acceptances—were soon instituted.

Business Organization. Forms of partnership, family and non family, had developed in the Middle Ages and were continued into the modern period. So too was the regulated company—an association of merchants created to monopolize and exploit some branch of trade. It received its charter from the government. Each associated merchant worked as an individual entrepreneur but contributed to a common treasury to finance a central body which maintained foreign trade centers, gave protection to the membership and laid down the rules for the proper conduct of business.

But the most modern of the forms developed in this period was the joint stock company. The others were a union of persons; this was a union of capital. A number of investors put their money into a venture and then chose a board of directors to conduct the venture, they then shared the profits and the risks.

When joint stock companies came to be linked to regulated companies they were called chartered commercial companies. A good example of one such was the famous English East India Company. Its capital was derived from shareholders but it did more than engage in commercial ventures. Its charter granted it monopoly rights to trade anywhere in the Pacific and Indian Oceans to buy land in unlimited quantity, to deal with foreign potentates to wage war and to make peace treaties. With these freedoms permitted to it, chartered

companies began to colonize the world on behalf of the mother country

DISCOVERY AND COLONIZATION

Colonization was first attempted unsuccessfully, by the Crusaders. The germ of the colonial concept was also present in the trading posts which were set up in Europe and the Near East by the Venetians and the Hanseatic League in the 13th and 14th centuries. But these ventures were in relatively settled and civilized areas. Modern colonization began when a vast new world of either sparsely settled or barbarous regions were suddenly discovered, explored and found more than useful. The first burst of such exploration and discovery came in the half century between 1450 and 1500. Why at that time?

Causes. Many factors combined to produce the burst of overseas exploration in 1450-1500. Nations along the Atlantic coast were growing desperate for gold and silver with which to offset the unfavorable balance of trade with the Near East. They resented more and more bitterly the stranglehold which the free cities of Italy had upon that area and upon the Mediterranean Sea. Momentarily the Italian monopoly had been threatened when the Ottoman Turks in 1453 had captured Constantinople and overthrown the Byzantine Empire. (Indeed they had advanced deep into Europe itself and had overrun Serbia, Wallachia, Bosnia and Greece.) The Turks were anxious to keep the favorable balance of trade with Western Europe, had renewed Venice's privileges in the Near East. Even had there not been this political domination of the Near East, the price of Far Eastern commodities was extremely high since the price reflected the great distances by sea and overland that the goods had to come, the tariff that had to be paid en route, the brigandage that lined the whole trade route, etc. It was clear to thoughtful merchants that there was but one answer to this distressing problem: some all water route to the Far East—either around Africa or by a westward sailing.

Successes. MARCO POLO and other travelers had returned to Europe with the news that Far Eastern lands were washed by some mighty water. Why could it not be the same mighty water that washed the Atlantic shores of Europe? Europeans became convinced that it was and began the systematic conquest of this water—which held so many terrors for the uninformed.

By 1450 improvements in seafaring were far advanced. The magnetic compass was in general use, the astrolabe to measure latitude out at sea was perfected, new scientific maps were in circulation, shipbuilding had advanced toward larger and more powerful vessels. With the invention by JOHANN GUTENBERG of the printing press geographical, maritime and astronomical information was diffused over wide areas. In particular it became better and better known that the earth was a sphere and that one could reach east by sailing west.

Southward and westward sailing were in the minds of many men by 1450. National states were well advanced by that time and the monarchs hungered for more revenue with which to counter the feudal nobility, dispossessed nobles hungered for a new chance to recoup their fortunes. Individuals stirred by the Renaissance stress on man sought new adventures and new glories. Men looked to Africa and to the Far East as vast potential fields of conquest.

Now Europe needed bold and fearless navigators to try the dangers of the unknown sea. One who did not fear the sea was Prince HENRY THE NAVIGATOR, son of King John I of Portugal. Motivated by a zealot's hatred for the Moslems and a desire to conquer them by outflanking them in the south of Africa, Henry organized a navigational center on the southern tip of Portugal facing the Atlantic. Here captains were trained in the making of maps, the reading of them, the use of navigational instruments, etc.

Their training completed, Portuguese navigators began to edge cautiously down the western coast of Africa. In 1482 (twenty years after Henry's death) BARTHOLOMEW DIAZ reached the Cape of Good Hope. Ten years later 1490 DA GAMA sailed around Africa to India. The southward route had been breached. Six years before da Gama's feat, however, the Western route was opened by the world-shaking voyage of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS (1492). Some years had to pass before Europeans came to realize that Columbus had discovered a huge continent that blocked the way to the Far East. The first to see the ocean on the other side of the New World was VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA, and the first to circumnavigate the globe by sailing westward was FERDINAND MAGELLAN and his crew (Magellan having been killed in the Philippines). By 1522 the Mediterranean Sea route to the luxury items of the Far East had been circumvented in two directions. Hegemony over Far Eastern Trade now

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THE RESULTS OF THE COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION

Spain. From the outset the nations who succeeded in discovering and exploring new lands were intent upon their conquest. This led immediately to rivalry between Spain and Portugal over division of the spoils of discovery. To prevent bloodshedding, Pope Alexander VI in the Treaty of Tordesillas divided up all discovered lands between Spain and Portugal. To Spain went those lands that lay 370 degrees west of the Cape Verde Islands to Portugal, the remainder.

Spain promptly began to subdue the lands awarded her. From the mainland there streamed a small army of *conquistadores* (conquerors) and missionaries taking over for themselves backward areas—in the name of Spain. Ponce de Leon (1513), Balboa (1513), Hernan Cortes (1519), Ferdinand Magellan (1521), Francisco Pizarro (1531), Hernan de Soto (1541), Francisco Vasquez de Coronado (1550)—conquered for Spain the Floridas, Central America, Mexico, the Philippines, Peru, the Mississippi Valley, and the United States Southwest. These became jumping off places for the eventual conquest of all of South America except Brazil, all of Central America, most of the West Indies and most of the United States west of the Mississippi River. In control of the largest territorial empire the world had yet known, the Spaniards should have emerged as Europe's greatest power. This did not happen.

The reasons for Spain's failure to capitalize on her conquests were many. Spain failed to build up in her country a thriving middle class that could make effective use of the inpouring capital; instead it was frittered away in high living by generations of spoiled nobility. The expulsion from Spain of the Jews in 1492 had removed a thriving and progressive group that might have given Spain leadership in this direction. When the flow of gold and silver bullion from the colonies diminished the Spanish economy collapsed. In spite of government aid to commercial ventures, most of them failed in competition with those of other nations. Spain did make an effort to centralize control of her colonial possessions in the hope of promoting settlement overseas. This did not result because of restrictions placed upon free trading, because settlement was limited to Roman Catholics and because the

Spanish government was too weak and corrupt to protect settlers from foreign powers.

England particularly invaded Spanish domains and without much check after the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. In spite of these many defeats, the Spaniards retained their empire well into the nineteenth century when the revolutions led by SIMON BOLIVAR freed most of South and Central America and when the United States forced her to give up her territories either by sale or war.

Portugal. In the New World Portugal was able to colonize only Brazil. But she did capitalize upon being the first to round the Cape of Good Hope and soon built up a vast empire that included territories in Africa, India, China, Japan, the Malayan Archipelago and East Indies. Through control of native rulers, Portugal established a virtual—but temporary—monopoly of the trade of the Far East. Her downfall came as a result of invasion of Portugal by the Spanish king Philip II in 1581.

Spain held Portugal for sixty years in the course of which Portuguese commerce declined to a vanishing point. Spanish rule was partly to blame. Other reasons, however, were that Portugal, with a population of only two million, had neither the wealth nor strength to rule an empire numbering hundreds of millions. The wealth that poured into Portugal created a devastating inflation; she found it difficult to dispose of her goods profitably, and unlike Spain the Portuguese never developed effective centralized administration of the empire. Dutch, French and British companies—well armed and well financed—tore the Portuguese empire to shreds. Portugal managed to retain Angola and Mozambique in Africa, Brazil until 1822 and Goa and Pondicherry in India.

The Dutch. Dutch commercial prosperity began when Holland successfully won her independence from Spain (1566-1609). As part of her war on Philip II the Dutch in 1596 seized the East Indies from the Portuguese. A Dutch East India Trading Company organized in 1602 capitalized on this conquest and began to exploit the resources of Ceylon, Sumatra, the Spice Islands and Java. A Dutch West Indies Company hoped to duplicate this feat in the New World and managed to settle New Amsterdam there as well as some of the West Indies and portions of Brazil.

In the early part of the 17th century, the Dutch were the greatest commercial power in Europe and Amsterdam became the financial center of the

11 D e t e l g u s toleration had much to do

with her success for it attracted the dissenting Christian and non Christian middle classes from all countries to her land. But her success did not last because narrowly conceived mercantile policies discouraged settlement overseas, she, too, had too small a nation for so large an empire, and finally, she lost to England in a series of wars that occurred late in the seventeenth century. She was able, however, to retain her possession of the 'Dutch' East Indies until after the second World War when she had to succumb to the wave of nationalism that swept over the Far East at that time.

French. Not until midway in the 16th century did the French awaken to the possibilities of colonial expansion. They had been interested in the new world previously but only for its fisheries. Under King Francis I (1515-1547) she underwent an awakening only to find the world outside Europe divided between Portugal and Spain. France began to send explorers and priests into the New World. JACQUES DE VERRAZANO, JACQUES CARTIER, SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN, ROBERT CHERVILLE, DE LA SALLE, LOUIS ARTHUR and JACQUES MARQUETTE gave to France its claims over Canada and the Mississippi Valley.

At a later time the French sought to establish control over India in the Far East. A French universal empire did not result from these efforts. Very severe government restrictions on free enterprise ~~in the New World~~, a prohibition upon all non Catholics to settle there, failure of the government to give support to its settlers and the bitter rivalry of the British to all French moves in the colonial empire led to the collapse of all her ambitions overseas in the 18th century. In the nineteenth century these ambitions revived.

England. The victor in this first modern race for imperialist power was England. England, too, was indignant at Pope Alexander VI's arbitrary assignment of the world to Spain and Portugal and in 1497 defied the papal decree by sending JOHN CABOT (an Italian) on an exploratory mission. Cabot established England's claim to the northeastern part of North America. At this time England was not interested in the conquest of New World territory, what she sought was a northwest passage through the New World. In the course of this search, Martin Frobisher, John Davis, Henry Hudson, William Baffin, and others, extended England's claims to Canada and the territorial United States.

More important even than finding a passage, was the need to reduce Spanish power, particularly after Henry VIII led England out of the fold of the Roman Catholic Church. One effective way was to

attack Spanish merchant ships. This was done by a remarkable group of "Sea Dogs"—legalized pirates—(e.g., SIR JOHN HAWKINS, SIR FRANCIS DRAKE) who were granted the right to prey on Spanish commerce. They traded with forbidden areas and 'highjacked' Spanish gold-carrying galleons on the high seas, for which they were knighted by Queen Elizabeth. Spain had to retaliate to survive, she built her awesome armada, and in 1588 it was destroyed by the smaller, swifter, more maneuverable English fleet. This was the turning point in English maritime and colonial history for now she became interested in securing colonies all over the world.

Her success was phenomenal. After failures by Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh, she made a successful settlement of the territory of the United States at Jamestown in 1607 and before long had established thirteen colonies along the coast. Defeat of the Dutch in three wars (1652-1654, 1664-1666, 1672-1674) brought her great possessions in the Far East as well as additional territory in the New World. Her crowning achievement, however, was the defeat of the French in the Seven Years War (1756-1763) as a result of which she secured possession of all of Canada and India. Meanwhile she occupied many islands in all the seas to serve as naval bases for ships en route to her far flung possessions. Why was England so successful where the others failed?

The answer would seem to lie in the fact that Englishmen were willing to go overseas in large numbers and settle the conquered territories. No religious bars were placed on settlers, settlers took with them the "rights of Englishmen"—that is, the basic freedoms, the English government fostered free enterprise within mercantile restrictions, considerable local autonomy was permitted overseas settlers, the government took a direct interest in the defense of her settlers against hostile native or foreign powers. Above all, England established and maintained herself as 'mistress of the seas'.

The Mercantilist System. A second major result of the Commercial Revolution was the growth and development of the system of mercantilism. Mercantilism was both a theory and a practice. Its theory stemmed from the belief that a country's wealth depended upon the amount of gold and silver bullion in its possession. How can a country increase its supply of bullion? It can steal it from others (Humphrey, Drake), it can occupy backward areas, mine precious metals, or it can accumulate it by maintaining a favorable balance of trade since the balance of payments would have to be made in gold.

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Spanish government was too weak and corrupt to protect settlers from foreign powers.

England particularly invaded Spanish domains and without much check after the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. In spite of these many defeats, the Spaniards retained their empire well into the nineteenth century when the revolutions led by Simon Bolivar freed most of South and Central America and when the United States forced her to give up her territories either by sale or war.

Portugal. In the New World Portugal was able to colonize only Brazil. But she did capitalize upon being the first to round the Cape of Good Hope and soon built up a vast empire that included territories in Africa, India, China, Japan, the Malayan Archipelago and East Indies. Through control of native rulers, Portugal established a virtual—but temporary—monopoly of the trade of the Far East. Her downfall came as a result of invasion of Portugal by the Spanish King Philip II in 1581.

Spain held Portugal for sixty years in the course of which Portuguese commerce declined to a vanishing point. Spanish rule was partly to blame. Other reasons, however, were that Portugal with a population of only two million, had neither the wealth nor strength to rule an empire numbering hundreds of millions, the wealth that poured into Portugal created a devastating inflation, she found it difficult to dispose of her goods profitably, and unlike Spain the Portuguese never developed effective centralized administration of the empire. Dutch, French and British companies—well armed and well financed—tore the Portuguese empire to shreds. Portugal managed to retain Angola and Mozambique in Africa, Brazil until 1822 and Goa and Pondicherry in India.

The Dutch. Dutch commercial prosperity began when Holland successfully won her independence from Spain (1566-1609). As part of her war on Philip II the Dutch in 1596 seized the East Indies from the Portuguese. A Dutch East India Trading Company organized in 1602 capitalized on this conquest and began to exploit the resources of Ceylon, Sumatra, the Spice Islands and Java. A Dutch West Indies Company hoped to duplicate this feat in the New World and managed to settle New Amsterdam there as well as some of the West Indies and portions of Brazil.

In the early part of the 17th century, the Dutch were the greatest commercial power in Europe and Amsterdam became the financial center of the world. But as religious toleration had much to do

with her success for it attracted the dissenting Christian and non Christian middle classes from all countries to her land. But her success did not last because narrowly conceived mercantile policies discouraged settlement overseas, she, too, had too small a nation for so large an empire, and, finally, she lost to England in a series of wars that occurred late in the seventeenth century. She was able, however, to retain her possession of the 'Dutch' East Indies until after the second World War when she had to succumb to the wave of nationalism that swept over the Far East at that time.

French. Not until midway in the 16th century did the French awaken to the possibilities of colonial expansion. They had been interested in the new world previously, but only for its fisheries. Under King Francis I (1515-1547) she underwent an awakening only to find the world outside Europe divided between Portugal and Spain. France began to send explorers and priests into the New World. GIOVANNI DE VERRAZANO, JACQUES CARTIER, SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN, ROBERT CHEVALIER DE LA SALLE, LOUIS JOLIEF and JACQUES MARQUETTE gave to France its claims over Canada and the Mississippi Valley.

At a later time the French sought to establish control over India in the Far East. A French imperial empire did not result from these efforts. Very severe government restrictions on free enterprise in the New World, a prohibition upon all non Catholics to settle there, failure of the government to give support to its settlers and the bitter hostility of the British to all French moves in the colonial empire led to the collapse of all her ambitions overseas in the 18th century. In the nineteenth century these ambitions revived.

England. The victor in this first modern race for imperial power was England. England, too, was motivated at Pope Alexander VI's arbitrary assignment of the world to Spain and Portugal and in 1497 defied the papal decree by sending JOHN CABOT (an Italian) on an exploratory mission. Cabot established England's claim to the northeastern part of North America. At this time England was not interested in the conquest of New World territory, what she sought was a northwest passage through the New World. In the course of this search, Martin Frobisher, John Davis, Henry Hudson, William Baffin, and others, extended England's claims to Canada and the territorial United States.

More important even than finding a passage, was the need to reduce Spanish power, particularly after Henry VIII led England out of the fold of the Roman Catholic Church. One effective way was to

attack Spanish merchant ships. This was done by a remarkable group of "Sea Dogs —legalized pirates —(e.g., SIR JOHN HAWKINS, SIR FRANCIS DRAKE) who were granted the right to prey on Spanish commerce. They traded with forbidden areas and 'highjacked' Spanish gold-carrying galleons on the high seas for which they were knighted by Queen Elizabeth. Spain had to retaliate to survive, she built her awesome armada, and in 1588 it was destroyed by the smaller, swifter, more maneuverable English fleet. This was the turning point in English maritime and colonial history for now she became interested in securing colonies all over the world.

Her success was phenomenal. After failures by Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh, she made a successful settlement of the territory of the United States at Jamestown in 1607 and before long had established thirteen colonies along the coast. Defeat of the Dutch in three wars (1652-1654, 1664-1666, 1672-1674) brought her great possessions in the Far East as well as additional territory in the New World. Her crowning achievement, however, was the defeat of the French in the Seven Years War (1756-1763) as a result of which she secured possession of all of Canada and India. Meanwhile she occupied many islands in all the seas to serve as naval bases for ships en route to her far flung possessions. Why was England so successful where the others failed?

The answer would seem to lie in the fact that Englishmen were willing to go overseas in large numbers and settle the conquered territories. No religious bars were placed on settlers, settlers took with them the 'rights of Englishmen' —that is, the basic freedoms, the English government fostered free enterprise within mercantile restrictions, considerable local autonomy was permitted overseas settlers, the government took a direct interest in the defense of her settlers against hostile native or foreign powers. Above all, England established and maintained herself as 'mistress of the seas.'

The Mercantilist System. A second major result of the Commercial Revolution was the growth and development of the system of mercantilism. Mercantilism was both a theory and a practice. Its

... stemmed from the belief that a country's ... of gold and silver ... its supply of bullion ... from others (Humphrey, Drake), it can occupy backward ... mine precious metals, or it can accumulate ... maintaining a favorable balance of trade ... balance of payments would have to be made ...

or silver. The slogan became "Encourage exports, discourage imports."

What mercantilism was in practice can be seen with great clarity in the work of JEAN BAPTISTE COLBERT (1619-1683), Louis XIV's finance minister. Colbert first set the French national house in order, he cut government costs, simplified its financial structure and then filled its coffers by increased direct and indirect taxation. With finances on hand to support his projects, Colbert now proceeded to create great mercantile monopolies or trading organizations (an East Indies Company and a West Indies Company) to capture the world's markets. To increase France's ability to sell he built model factories with state funds and encouraged productivity by subsidy, internal improvements (roads, canals, etc.) To discourage imports (the spending of any money overseas) he placed a high protective tariff on all incoming goods, constructed a merchant marine and fostered colonization in backward areas to discover cheap sources of raw materials. Had these practices succeeded no gold would have left France while from purchases abroad gold would have poured into France. The theory was admirable but it did not work out in practice—it proved immensely expensive and wasteful and resulted in a stagnation of the economy.

Economic Consequences As a result of the Commercial Revolution commerce became world wide. The Mediterranean Sea shrank in importance as a commercial lane and doomed both Italy and Turkey to role of second rate commercial powers. The Baltic Sea—second only to the Mediterranean in late medieval commercial importance—declined and brought down with it the economic power of the Germans, the Scandinavian countries and Russia. Commercial power now rested with the states bordering the Atlantic Ocean and in their great port-cities.

Changes in the types of commerce followed. With open sea passage to the Far East, silks, spices, etc., ceased to be luxuries and became staples of commerce, their prices declined drastically. New products like indigo, china, porcelain, cocoa, tea, coffee, cotton, dyewoods and tobacco entered the trade stream. The slave trade begun by the Portuguese and developed by the Dutch, grew in importance.

An interchange of domestic animals, fruit trees and vegetable seeds was now begun. Diffusion of manufactured goods was equally widespread making for greater abundance and variety.

The influx of gold into Europe resulting from dis-

covery of mines overseas had very important consequences. A price revolution occurred in the form of inflation, in a hundred years prices nearly tripled, wages rose too but lagged behind prices. Many dislocations accompanied the steady rise of prices. Landlords raised rents, landowners began intensive cultivation to get more grain per acre, where small landowners could not do this they were forced to sell their properties to the new middle class, lie between wages and prices created the severest hardships for laborers and considerably increased their discontent.

While farmers and laborers suffered as a result of price rises, manufacturing groups benefited in many ways. They paid relatively less in wages and secured the benefits of price increases. Manufacturers benefited too from the fact that the influx of coin provided the base for a tremendous credit expansion. Obviously, the middle classes were in the ascendant.

Political, Social and Cultural Consequences. By means of the Commercial Revolution the kings in the Atlantic states were able to establish themselves absolutely. They either destroyed the feudal nobility and created a new nobility from the middle classes or they reduced the feudal nobility to a parasitic class which danced attendance upon the king at his beck and call. With increased funds they built up war machines based on professional standing armies and used these armies to increase their national domains. They fostered the arts for the purpose of increasing their prestige or defending their claim to rule by divine right. In all of these activities they leaned heavily upon the support of the middle class which supported the monarchs at this time because they felt that their chief enemies were the feudal nobility and the Church; these were the enemies of the royal power too. (They were to shift their allegiance however when the royal authority later turned against them.)

It was of course the middle class that sparked and dominated the Commercial Revolution. Their money was invested in the joint stock and regulated companies which engaged in most of the overseas commercial ventures; their money created the bank credit that lay at the base of all commercial expansion. As a result they became self-reliant, highly individual, men of wealth and leisure, urban, and secular-minded. To build their prestige they placed the ruler behind the wave of new learning and new art that made up the Renaissance; they became patrons of literature and the arts. In particular they patronized literary artists whose

writings attacked such churchly notions as running a business for the benefit of the entire Christian community, charging a just price, avoiding usury, refraining from monopolistic and over-competitive practices and the like, it was precisely the engagement in these practices that had made them a powerful class.

It should not be surprising, therefore, to learn that it was large groups of the middle class that

sponsored the rise of Protestantism, which gave some ideological support to money-making activities and did not identify such activities with sinful behavior. Finally, feeling that its new position entitled it to some voice in political affairs, the middle class gave active allegiance to the parliaments that had developed in the medieval era. Through these bodies they were able to exercise some check upon the arbitrariness of royal rule.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE RENAISSANCE

WHAT WAS THE RENAISSANCE?

For many years historians took their understanding of the historical period known as the Renaissance from a book written by the great Swiss historian, JACOB BURCKHARDT—*The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*. According to Burckhardt, the Renaissance was a spontaneous creation of the Italian people in the fifteenth century (the *quattrocento*), it was something new that had no roots in the past. From nowhere came a new birth of individuals, from nowhere, an outburst of genius that took the forms of great art and literature. Several concepts distorted Burckhardt's view of the Renaissance: he was primarily concerned with culture and ideas, he, therefore, paid insufficient attention to other factors—religious, political, social or economic, he believed in the "great man theory of history" which blinded him to large movements involving lesser people. In spite of these weaknesses, Burckhardt's study remains a major classic of historical research.

Historians still do not agree on all that the Renaissance was, but most will accept the statement that it was not a rebirth so much as a transitional period between medieval and modern times. As a transitional period the roots of the Renaissance derive from the medieval outlook, its tentacles stretch toward the dawning era of modern science. In itself it was neither medieval nor modern. Because it was an in-between period it was characterized by criticism of the *status quo*, by restless curiosity about all things, by the raising of questions rather than the answering of them. Such intellectual attitudes inevitably led the men of the Renaissance to

place man himself under more intensive examination and it was out of this emphasis upon man that the distinctive features of the Renaissance emerged. In this matter, Burckhardt cannot be denied, the Renaissance did burst with creativity and the artists of that period were great men even if they were not the sole determinants of the course of history during the Renaissance.

Renaissance Versus Medievalism. There was much in medieval life that Renaissance men openly rejected or disagreed with. While medieval men revered some of the Greco-Roman classics, Renaissance men hailed them all, no matter how pagan, how un-Christian. They made war against medieval Latin and 14th century vernacular and sought to return to the "pure Latin" of Cicero—a virtually unknown tongue. They were optimistic, worldly, and individualistic. They rejected "Gothic" architecture as "barbaric", they no longer gave unthinking credence to Ptolemaic astronomy which placed man at the center of the universe, they pursued knowledge for knowledge's sake without fearing for their faith, they mocked at chivalry, scholastic philosophy, medieval economics, in short, they affirmed life with enthusiasm and joy.

Causes of the Renaissance. What forces accelerated this drive toward a "new birth?" Many of them lay in earlier developments: contact with Moslem and Byzantine civilizations, the Commercial Revolution with its interchange of goods and ideas, the new learning of the thirteenth century that flowered in scholasticism, the rise of national monarchies bolstered by the Bolognese revival of Roman law, the spread of universities, the near-scientific emphasis of the Nominalist movement within

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perfect knight" of chivalry, had decomposed by the time of the Renaissance in its place appeared the ideal of the very perfect gentleman. BALDASSARE CASTIGLIONE (1478-1529) established this ideal in his book *Il Cortigiano* (The Courtier). Who was the gentleman. He was born to a family of good manners or gentility aristocrats in mind and body standards and taste. In such an environment he would grow up skilled in sport and the use of arms a graceful dancer and skilled musician a master of several languages including Latin, familiar with great works of literature and art and completely at ease in the company of accomplished women.

Women, said Castiglione, are a necessary part of the environment that makes the gentleman for they refine whatever brute instincts are the natural endowment of man. But women have to be trained in their role of complement to the gentleman and the first requirement was to be feminine in carriage manner, speech and dress. To be the conversational equals of men, women, too must undergo the studies that would provide them with ideas on literature, art and statecraft, with facility in many languages. Compared, then with the medieval ideal of womanhood, Renaissance woman was a real woman—rather than an ethereal ideal—and was celebrated as such in paintings of artists like Raphael and Andrea del Sarto both of whom used his models for their Madonnas. Gentlemen and gentlemen, pursuing the ideal of *cortesia* (gentility) visibly became patrons of the arts.

Art Patronage Responding to the heightened interest in the remains of classical antiquity the wealthy and wealthy merchants began to collect antiquities, in finance projects designed to spread classical learning and to give support to local native artists who possessed unusual talent. The Medici, for example, built a museum for the study of antique art, financed diggings among Etruscan and Roman ruins and invited and supported artists like Michelangelo, Leonardo and Verrochio to work in the museum on original projects. Lorenzo de Medici was himself exceptionally gifted as a poet and composer.

Artistic Individualism While the artists appreciated these endowments and made much use of them, they resisted all efforts to form them into guilds or corporations so characteristic of the medieval outlook. The earliest of the great artists worked in guild workshops under the usual guild regulations and restrictions. Gradually the cult of individualism developed artists of genius established themselves in individual studios and assumed an independent role. They still depended on commissions from the

aristocracy and the church but the subject matter and form of the art work was to be exclusively their own. The result was that fine art was separated from the crafts painting sculpture and architecture became individual liberal arts, each with its own esthetic, or canons of taste and judgment.

As individual artists became recognized there flocked about them groups of worshipping and imitating students. To bring some kind of order into art instruction some of the masters began to organize art academies. From the art academies sprang the various schools of art which characterized the Renaissance.

RENAISSANCE PAINTING

Intimations of a change in the medieval mode of painting can be found in the works of Cimabue (late 13th c.) who first attempted to put individual character into his figures, to give them more substance and to correct the perspective of their surroundings. Some of the faces in his pictures are almost portrait like.

These trends become intensified in the works of Giotto during the *trecento* (1300s). Giotto's perspective is realistic and produces a feeling of depth. His coloring evokes feeling relevant to his theme. He strives not only for portraiture in his faces but for expression of feeling as well. He combines the masses in his pictures for purposes of dramatic composition.

In the 15th century (*quattrocento*) MASACCIO and others brought these trends to completion. The figures are all life like and exactly proportioned. The perspective is exact, the composition takes on the form of a geometric design (an imitation of the Greek pedimental groups). In the workshop of ANDREA VERROCCIO and that of DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO Renaissance realism was brought to a great height. Students in these workshops studied anatomy, mathematics, color grinding and the making of plaster replicas from which to paint. Around these workshops gathered such luminaries as BOTICELLI, the DELLA ROBBIAS, the BANGALLOS, DI CREDI, PERUGINO and DA VINCI.

Naturalism in a natural environment, art as the imitation of nature, became the goals of these quattrocento painters. Exact rendering of muscles, draperies and rocks were achieved by direct copy. Precise anatomy was combined with exact reproduction of the play of light and dark upon the flesh. New tactile values were achieved by introducing glazes of colors. The atmosphere was given an infinite recession by use of haze. This latter technique

scholasticism, the growth of a wealthy, leisured middle class seeking prestige as patrons of the arts. These might very well be designated fundamental causes (It is worth re-emphasizing that most of these causes lay, chronologically, within the medieval period.) For the more immediate causes, we must turn to the history of Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

Political Background As a result of the struggle between the popes and the Holy Roman Empire, Italy had been fragmented into a large number of independent city republics. Movements to unify the Italian peninsula had been thwarted by successive foreign invasions. Moreover, Guelph-Ghibelline factionalism inside each petty state and almost continuous feuding among the states kept all of Italy in a condition of disorder.

Political instability created the opportunity for powerful individuals and factions to establish themselves as rulers within the states. In this they were aided by the rise of bands of professional soldiers who sold their services to the highest bidder. Those who could afford to hire the mercenaries were the middle class who were reaping wealth from revived Mediterranean commerce (In fact, most of the inter-state feuding was over trading centers, and trade routes.) To come to power the ambitious middle class had to destroy the republican forms of government that existed in most of the independent city states. Murder and political assassination became commonplace.

By the 15th century, however, some degree of stability was introduced by a number of successful dictators who were able to keep the power of the state within their families for a number of generations. In Milan the Visconti family held power from 1311 to 1450, and then gave way to the family of Sforza. Florence came under the domination of Italy's most brilliant family, the de' Medici, of whom Cosimo and Lorenzo "the Magnificent" were the most noteworthy. There were the della Scala in Verona and the Carraras in Padua, the Borgia in Romagna and many others.

The situation in Venice was somewhat different. There the forms of the republic were retained but actual power was in the hands of a ruling oligarchy who controlled the Senate, the Grand Council and the Doge—a president elected for life. Significant political power was wielded by the Popes in the papal states. Once entrenched, these families began to extend their domains so that by the 16th century,

Italy had become unified to the extent that there were five powerful and enlarged states: the duchy of Milan, the republic of Venice, the republic of Florence, the kingdom of the Two Sicilies and the Papal States.

IDEAS OF THE RENAISSANCE

The rise of the Renaissance dictators was accompanied by a rationalization of their activities and behavior. One such rationalization was the ideal of *virtù*. A man was to be judged by the bravery and skill with which he achieved his personal goals and by the subtlety and finesse of the means he employed. In pursuit of *virtù*, conscience was irrelevant. So wrote Machiavelli in *The Prince*.

Machiavellianism Machiavelli wrote *The Prince* out of a deep sense of frustration with the political condition of Italy—its helplessness before the might of Spanish and French invaders, its lack of patriotism, its dependence upon mercenary soldiers, its state of warring disunity. His dream was of a unified Italy, completely sovereign, untrammelled by church, religion or morals, free to undertake whatever was necessary to bolster its unlimited sovereignty over the lives of its subjects. The end of unity could only be achieved by a patriotic and ruthless prince possessed of *virtù* who by craft and force would reduce the peninsula of Italy to a single state.

Such a prince thought Machiavelli was Cesare Borgia. Why was Cesare qualified? He took the world as it was and men for what they were—as motivated primarily by evil purposes. He therefore planned to make evil his ally. He did not scruple to break his word when his promise no longer served his purpose; he strove to make himself both loved and feared by giving the appearance of being virtuous but doing all the evil required to maintain himself in power. All means are justified, argued Machiavelli, that serve the end of attaining and retaining political power. Ruse, cunning, artifice, conspiracy—the *me* were the methods of the prince with great fear of *me*—strength of body and mind. Pious in the prince were such Christian ideals as humility, lowliness and contempt of worldly objects.

Such goals were not confined during the Renaissance to princes alone. They can be seen operating in the interesting lives of such Renaissance figures as Pope Alexander Borgia, Machiavelli himself, the utterly unscrupulous critic Pietro Aretino, the adventurer Castiglione, the braggart Benvenuto Cellini and even in the youth of Leonardo da Vinci.

The Perfect Courtier. The ideal of the "ren-

perfect knight" of chivalry had decomposed by the time of the Renaissance in its place appeared the ideal of the "very perfect gentleman" BALDASSARE CASTIGLIONE (1473-1529) established this ideal in his book *Il Cortegano* (*The Courtier*). Who was the gentleman? He was born to a family of good man-arts or gentility, aristocrats in mind and body, standards and taste. In such an environment he would grow up skilled in sport and the use of arms, a graceful dancer and skilled musician, a master of several languages including Latin familiar with great works of literature and art and completely at ease in the company of accomplished women.

Women, said Castiglione are a necessary part of the environment that makes the gentleman for they refine whatever brute instincts are the natural endowment of man. But women have to be trained in their role of complement to the gentleman and the first requirement was to be feminine in carriage, manner, speech and dress. To be the conversational equals of men, women, too, must undergo the studies that would provide them with ideas on literature, art and statecraft, with facility in many languages. Compared, then, with the medieval ideal of womanhood, Renaissance woman was a real woman—rather than an ethereal ideal—and was celebrated as such in paintings of artists like Raphael and Andrea del Sarto both of whom used the models for their *Madonnas*. Gentlemen and gentlemen, pursuing the ideal of *cortesia* (gentility) inevitably became patrons of the arts.

Art Patronage Responding to the heightened interest in the remains of classical antiquity, the nobility and wealthy merchants began to collect antiquities, to finance projects designed to spread classical learning and to give support to local native artists who possessed unusual talent. The Medici, for example built a museum for the study of antique art, financed diggings among Etruscan and Roman ruins, invited and supported artists like Bertoldo di Chelangelo, Leonardo and Verrocchio to work in the museum on original projects. Lorenzo de Medici was himself exceptionally gifted as a poet and composer.

Artistic Individualism While the artists appreciated these endowments and made much use of them, they resisted all efforts to form them into guilds or corporations so characteristic of the medieval outlook. The earliest of the great artists worked in guild workshops under the usual guild regulations and restrictions. Gradually the cult of individualism developed, artists of genius established themselves in individual studios and assumed an independent role. They still depended on commissions from the

aristocracy and the church, but the subject matter and form of the art work was to be exclusively their own. The result was that fine art was separated from the crafts, painting, sculpture and architecture became individual liberal arts each with its own esthetic, or canons of taste and judgment.

As individual artists became recognized, there flocked about them groups of worshipping and imitating students. To bring some kind of order into art instruction some of the masters began to organize art academies. From the art academies sprang the various schools of art which characterized the Renaissance.

RENAISSANCE PAINTING

Intimations of a change in the medieval mode of painting can be found in the works of *Cimabue* (late 13th c.) who first attempted to put individual character into his figures, to give them more substance and to correct the perspective of their surroundings. Some of the faces in his pictures are almost portrait like.

These trends become intensified in the works of Giotto during the *trecento* (1300s). Giotto's perspective is realistic and produces a feeling of depth, his coloring evokes feeling relevant to his theme, he strives not only for portraiture in his faces but for expression of feeling as well, he combines the masses in his pictures for purposes of dramatic composition.

In the 15th century (*quattrocento*) MASSACCIO and others brought these trends to completion. The figures are all life like and exactly proportioned, the perspective is exact, the composition takes on the form of a geometric design (an imitation of the Greek pedimental groups). In the workshop of ANDREA VERROCCIO and that of DOMENICO GIULIANO Renaissance realism was brought to a great height. Students in these workshops studied anatomy, mathematics, color grinding and the making of plaster replicas from which to paint. Around these workshops gathered such luminaries as BOTTICELLI, DELLA ROBBIA, the BANGALLOS, DI CREDI, PERUGINO and DA VINCI.

Natural man in a natural environment, art as the imitation of nature, became the goals of these quattrocento painters. Exact rendering of muscles, draperies and rocks were achieved by direct copy, precise anatomy was combined with exact reproduction of the play of light and dark upon the flesh, new tactile values were achieved by introducing glazes of colors, the atmosphere was given an infinite recession by use of haze. This latter technique

scholasticism, the growth of a wealthy, leisured middle class seeking prestige as patrons of the arts. These might very well be designated fundamental causes. (It is worth re-emphasizing that most of these causes lay, chronologically, within the medieval period.) For the more immediate causes, we must turn to the history of Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

Political Background. As a result of the struggle between the popes and the Holy Roman Empire, Italy had been fragmented into a large number of independent city republics. Movements to unify the Italian peninsula had been thwarted by successive foreign invasions. Moreover, Guelph-Ghibelline factionalism inside each petty state and almost continuous feuding among the states kept all of Italy in a condition of disorder.

Political instability created the opportunity for powerful individuals and factions to establish themselves as rulers within the states. In this they were aided by the rise of bands of professional soldiers who sold their services to the highest bidders. Those who could afford to hire the mercenaries were the middle class who were reaping wealth from revived Mediterranean commerce. (In fact, most of the inter-state feuding was over trading centers, and trade routes.) To come to power, the ambitious middle class had to destroy the republican forms of government that existed in most of the independent city states. Murder and political assassination became commonplace.

By the 15th century, however, some degree of stability was introduced by a number of successful dictators who were able to keep the power of the state within their families for a number of generations. In Milan the Visconti family held power from 1311 to 1450, and then gave way to the family of Sforza. Florence came under the domination of Italy's most brilliant family, the de Medicis of whom Cosimo and Lorenzo "the Magnificent" were the most noteworthy. There were the della Scala in Verona and Vicenza, the Carraras in Padua, the Borghias in Romagna and many others.

The situation in Venice was somewhat different. There the forms of the republic were retained but actual power was in the hands of a ruling oligarchy who controlled the Senate, the Grand Council and the Doge—a president elected for life. Significant political power was wielded by the Popes in the papal states. Once entrenched, these families began to extend their domains so that by the 16th century

Italy had become unified to the extent that there were five powerful and enlarged states: the duchy of Milan, the republic of Venice, the republic of Florence, the kingdom of the Two Sicilies and the Papal States.

IDEAS OF THE RENAISSANCE

The rise of the Renaissance dictators was accompanied by a rationalization of their activities and behavior. One such rationalization was the ideal of *virtù*. A man was to be judged by the bravery and skill with which he achieved his personal goals and by the subtlety and finesse of the means he employed. In pursuit of *virtù*, conscience was irrelevant. So wrote Machiavelli in *The Prince*.

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Such goals were not confined during the Renaissance to princes alone. They can be seen operating in the interesting lives of such Renaissance figures as Pope Alexander Borgia, Machiavelli himself, the utterly unscrupulous crime Pietro Aretino, the adventurer Castagno, the braggart Benvenuto Cellini and even in the youth of Leonardo da Vinci.

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Women, and Castiglione, are a necessary part of the environment that makes the gentleman for they refine whatever brute instincts are the natural endowment of man. But women have to be trained in the role of complement to the gentleman and the first requirement was to be feminine in carriage, manners, speech and dress. To be the conversational equals of men, women, too, must undergo the studies that would provide them with ideas on literature, art and statecraft, with facility in many languages. Compared, then with the medieval ideal of womanhood, Renaissance woman was a real woman—rather than an ethereal ideal—and was celebrated as such in paintings of artists like Raphael and Andrea del Sarto both of whom used live models for their *Madonnas*. Gentlemen and gentlewomen, pursuing the ideal of *cortesi* (gentility) inevitably became patrons of the arts.

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was fully exploited by Perugino and a new type of perspective—atmospheric—now appeared. Perugino made use of the fact that some colors recede through being "cold" while others approach through being "warm."

The center for these developments was in Florence and it was the Florentine school of painting that produced LEONARDO DA VINCI, MICHELANGELO and RAPHAEL. With technique mastered, these men began to express ideas through the medium of painting. In his earlier works Leonardo experimented with a form of perspective that brought the whole picture forward to a plane directly in front of the viewer, thus increasing attention on the activity within the picture; he also developed further the use of *chiaroscuro* (painting by means of light and dark). In his great works—*Virgin of the Rocks*, the *Last Supper*, the *Mona Lisa*—Leonardo showed mankind and nature in its universal aspects, its permanent features, its inner unities and outer passions.

Michelangelo removed nature from the center of attention and concentrated his gigantic energies upon man alone. In his decorations for the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel there are almost 350 human figures shown in every imaginable position, each a masterpiece in anatomical study, each a superb study in human vitality, creativity, mood and tension. The world surrounding man was tragic, but Michelangelo's men were endowed with the mental and moral power to wrestle with their fates—and to win over them. Thus did Michelangelo transform the Christian epic of Genesis into a pagan epic of man the Master. The work of Michelangelo is the supreme achievement of Renaissance humanism. Less convinced that man's life was such an almighty mystery, and far less concerned over man's fate was Raphael. Raphael concentrated upon form and color and so produced great paintings of unperplexed Madonnas, among other subjects. (Botticelli's work, though having many of the characteristics of the Renaissance, were spiritually related to the Gothic, medieval past.)

The Venetian School of Painting: The Venetian school of painting was made distinguished by the work of such artists as the BELLINI (father and son), MANTEGNA, GIORGIONE, TITIAN and TINTORETTO. These great artists began the tradition of painting on canvas, using brilliant mosaic color schemes and spreading the art of painting with oil and varnish, an art borrowed from the painters of Flanders. The Bellinis and their school exploited the lights from outside the canvas to brighten the tones of their

pictures and began the practice of "pomellum" or painting by means of tiny spots of color. They also began the tradition of "Arcadian" paintings—romantic landscapes peopled with gods in contemporary dress. Mantegna experimented with perspective from many angles, Giorgione with composition in depth, Titian with asymmetrical compositions and daring colors. Tintoretto is one of the epoch's greatest masters.

RENAISSANCE SCULPTURE

In 1401, in Florence, a contest was held among sculptors for an assignment to work on the north doors of the Baptistery. Six sculptors were invited to compete, among them were BRUNELLESCHI and GHIUBERTI. Brunelleschi's composition was the more medieval of the two. It concentrated upon the drama and significance of the Biblical theme—the "Sacrifice of Isaac," and was less concerned with naturalism, modelling and decoration. Ghiberti—who won the contest—produced a panel cast in a single mold, decorative, impersonal, statuesque, and in a high relief with a unified focus of interest.

DONATELLO applied the rules of Brunelleschi and Ghiberti to single figures and faces in the field of monumental sculpture. Departing from classical standards, Donatello gave life to the figure, movement even underneath drapes, and above all, a sense of realism. LUCCA DELLA ROBBIA infused his classical subjects with lightness and grace, VERROCCIO experimented with action tensions and lights and shadows. But, as in painting, sculpture reached its height in such works of Michelangelo as his *Moses*, the *David*, *Slaves*, the *Pieta*, *Dawn* and *Sunset*.

RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTURE

Renaissance architects (Alberti, Brunelleschi, Mantegna, Bramante and Michelangelo) returned to the Romans and the Romanesque for their basic forms and decorative motifs. They restored cornices, capitals, pilasters and made use of rusticated (rough on the outside) stone blocks. They made use of column and arch centered about a cruciform transept and nave preferring thus earthly horizontal lines to otherworldly verticals.

They had little sense for the functional in architecture and devoted their greatest energies to the problem of the façade—the outer face of the building. The problem of matching façade to domes agitated Rome early in the 16th century. The Church of St. Peter in Rome had been begun fifty

ers before and was incomplete. Numerous architects submitted plans and worked upon the problem of rebuilding the great dome to the façade. The eventual solution was a compromise among the suggestions of Bramante, Raphael, Michelangelo and others. The pattern of the dome and façade of St. Peter's became the model for most of the monumental buildings of the western world.

RENAISSANCE LITERATURE

To the history of ideas the Renaissance thinkers brought the doctrine of Humanism, which developed from the labors of scholars in translating minor classics from the Greek to Latin, teaching the methods of classical authors and restoring the arguments of classical antiquity. Out of this devotion to Greco-Roman civilization, appeared a new emphasis upon man as a rational being, capable of real and creature joy in this life. Such an emphasis soon compelled a reconsideration of medieval times and views. In the life and writings of Francesco Petrarch (1304-74) one can find the earlier stage ensued when man first broke from the medieval mold.

Petrarch devoted much of his life to the study of ancient Greek and Roman civilization. His "pagan" self was expressed in a series of love sonnets written to Laura, his Christian self appeared in a series of written dialogues he composed with St. Augustine as his companion.

Less concerned with his "Christian self" was Giovanni Boccaccio, also a dedicated classical scholar. Boccaccio's best known composition is the *Decameron*, a collection of brilliant, comic, satiric, and sometimes bawdy tales.

THE DECLINE OF THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

The Renaissance movement in Italy came to an end about the middle of the 16th century. Political instability grew worse and at the same time the economic power of Italy was being steadily weakened. Following the "reformation" which resulted in Protestantism there was a sharp Catholic reaction that effectively stifled expression of Renaissance attitudes.

The Renaissance was essentially an aristocratic movement, a movement that believed in a cultural minority and fostered its "humanism" was not democratic, it was a very special kind of interest to man that Renaissance man resorted for

himself. It was the Italian mob that permitted Savonarola to come to power in Florence. Savonarola was a preacher who, in 1494 began to frighten the citizenry with the wrath that would overtake them if they did not drive from Florence its pagan unfaithfulness. He became the virtual dictator of Florence. During the period of his rule luxury articles, books and paintings were condemned as immoral and consigned to flames. Eventually the pope himself destroyed Savonarola. But the "mad monk" was a harbinger of things to come.

THE SPREAD OF THE RENAISSANCE

Germany. The hold of Christianity upon the Germans was far too great to permit the humanistic and pagan elements of the Italian Renaissance to take root. The backwardness of the secular revolution in Italy appeared in Germany as intensified criticism of the established church.

Painting and engraving advances did make their appearance in Germany in the work of two of the greatest of Renaissance painters—ALBRECHT DÜRER (1471-1528) and HANS HOLBEIN (1497-1534). Of the two Holbein was the more secular minded and devoted much of his matchless talent to portraiture. Both he and Dürer, however, painted religious scenes which were startling in their realism and frightening in their somberness and gloom. Mention should also be made of CARAVAGGIO whose color and audacious lighting foretold the coming of Baroque, and of CRISTOFANO, a master of the undraped figure.

The Low Countries. In northern FRANKS (1466-1536) of Holland the Renaissance produced its foremost scholar. He was a professional teacher and writer, familiar with both Latin and Greek, master of the classics in both those languages, and, from his reading of the classics, an admirer of naturalism, tolerance and humanitarianism. All about him Erasmus saw men steeped in ignorance, superstition, and he determined to lead them out of their darkness by the light of reason. Locating much of the ignorance of people as being within the Church, he subjected clerical practices to merciless criticism—though he emphatically refused to enlist in any crusade against the Church. In his *Praise of Folly* he lambasted theologians and monks for their scholasticism, their pedantry and their dogmatism. His program called for a return to a more apostolic form of Christian life. War, science and hate in any form also met with the sting of his criticism.

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Flemish painting influenced—and was influenced by—the Italian Renaissance. Where the attention of

the Italian painters was upon the classical, the aristocratic or the religious, that of the Flemish was upon the urban, the middle-class and the religious. The VAN ECKS, MEMLING, and VAN DER WEDDEN achieved a brilliant realism especially in small details, vivid and glowing colors, and the discovery of oil as a painting medium. Somewhat later came Pieter Breughel. Departing from the middle-class traditions of his contemporaries, Breughel went into the countryside for his themes and painted humble peasants in their moments of humble glory. The Flemish flair for unashamed realism characterizes Breughel as it does the others.

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The English theatre proved to be the natural locale for the expression of humanist sentiment. It was a link between the intellectual and the mass of people and thus kept the artist close to national rather than aristocratic sentiment. It had a long tradition through the development of Miracle and Mystery plays—plays which enabled the artist to teach through allegory and to combine philosophy with history. Since dramatists could use poetry, they had a medium which could fire the imagination. Excellent poetry can be declamatory, and the theatre served the art of declamation superbly. For these and other reasons the theatre attracted some of the most versatile pens in England. Of these the most versatile and profound was that of William Shakespeare.

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RENAISSANCE MUSIC

In the 15th and 16th centuries music became an independent fine art, developing to a high degree the polyphonic technique, of which the first masters were Flemish. Earliest of the Flemish polyphonists were JEAN DESCHAMPS (1430-1495) and JACOB OBERTIN (1450-1500).

Both technical virtuosity and expressiveness found their supreme expression in the work of JOSQUIN DES PREZ (1480-1521). Des Prez was master of every contrapuntal form and had a particular fondness for canon and imitation. But, all of his tricks of composition were subordinated to the overall design of the piece, a design based both on symmetry or antithetic proportion and clarifying the words of the text. To achieve the latter he employed means of perfect melodic and harmonic accentuation, purity of cadence, and, always, balance of voices. Josquin's influence was spread widely as a result of music printing which began at the end of the fifteenth century.

The 16th Century Secular music now became as important as sacred music, developing such forms as the madrigal and the chanson. Along with secular music, instrumental music came into its own during this century—music for the lute, the viol (viola) and the first harpsichords.

Italy 16th century Italian music was divided between a Roman and Venetian school. The Roman school, a school of sacred music, was dominated by PALESTRINA (1524-1594) whose *Missa* (Requiem) has been sung in the Sistine Chapel on every Good Friday since 1560. Palestrina's simple

vocal style served the purposes of the church so well that it was given official approval by the Council of Trent (1543-1563). In Venice ADRIAN WILLAERT (c. 1550) and GIOVANNI GABRIELI (c. 1600) continued the high art of Josquin. Willaert began the practice of using a double-chorus and Gabrieli introduced the *concerto* style—a contrast of vocal and instrumental voices.

Germany German music was also split into two schools—the Bavarian and Saxon. The grant of the Bavarian school was a pupil of Josquin, ORLANDUS DE LASSELS who composed over 2,000 masses, motets, magnificats, madrigals, villanellas, etc. The Saxon school was dominated by MARTIN LUTHER and the chorale (congregational hymn). Luther stressed the moral effects of music and so was worlds removed from the esthetic effects sought by Lassus.

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English madrigals were almost always set to descriptive words that were underlined by dissonant chords producing sad or joyous moods. England also produced the earliest keyboard music—music written for the virginal. Virginal composers liked dance movements and in an effort to enliven these they employed variations around a recurring bass figure known as the ground bass.

It should be evident from this brief account that Renaissance music cannot in any way be neglected in an account of the magnificent achievements of the Renaissance.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION

FUNDAMENTAL CAUSES

Between 1517 and 1648 the universality of the Roman Catholic Church was shattered beyond repair. Roman Catholicism now had to share its leadership of Christians with a large number of national churches and private sects, each with its own doctrine, ritual and sacramental acts. This doctrinal schism began as a reformation within

the Roman Church but ended as a series of transformations outside it. The political, economic, social and cultural consequences of this schism in Christian thought and practice were explosive in the days of its origin and remain so in our own day. 300 years later Reform movements within the Catholic fold had occurred previously, as we have seen, they were part of the evolution of the church's structure.

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England produced her own humanists as well. THOMAS MORE she possessed the author of one of the world's most famous accounts of the ideal "utopian" society, in his book *Utopia*. In More's imaginary perfect state there is no poverty, oppression of man by man, no war, no diseases, men work six hours a day, hold goods in common, devote their leisure to endless intellectual pursuits that make them tolerant, wise, brave and just, creeds that accept God's existence and the immortality of the soul are welcome, etc. FRANCIS BACON imagined another such paradise in his *New Atlantis*.

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clerical? When church crimes found secular powers to support them by force of arms, they ceased to be fearful and did not hesitate to draw the conclusions from their criticisms.

Everywhere in Europe save Germany and Italy, new national states had arisen and were making a strong assertion of secular sovereignty. In France, by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438) and the Concordat of Bologna (1516), the kings succeeded in winning for themselves the right to dic-

... and made a similar assertion, nor were the monarchs far behind the French and English in their demands. These gains against the church counted rather than appeased royal appetites. They eyed enviously the vast domains of the church, and they resented the flow out of their countries of vast sums collected by the church in the form of annates, 'Peter's Pence,' indulgences, church court fines, income from vacant benefices, fees for bestowing the pallium upon bishops, etc. They felt that every effort of the church to communicate or to interdict was a violation of their sovereignty, they even turned hostile eyes upon the presence in their lands of church courts sharing judicial power with royal courts.

The bourgeoisie (middle-class) fully supported the kings, for different reasons. They viewed the vast church holdings as immobilized capital that, if freed, could be used as a base for a great credit expansion, and they bitterly resented being deprived of the fluid capital they had in the form of countless payments to the church. And, since the chief burden of payment fell upon the lowly backs of the peasantry, they, too, echoed the bitter resentment of the kings and the bourgeoisie.

In such an atmosphere, church abuses became the sparks of a revolutionary movement to transform the church. This movement found its voice in Martin Luther whose career is a clear illustration of the causes at work in the Protestant Reformation.

THE CAREER OF MARTIN LUTHER

The Germans of Martin Luther's time (1483-1546) were hotbeds of sacerdotal criticism. Because they were disunited, there was no strong royal power to check the church, the result was that church abuses were magnified in Germany. Constant protests by the German feudal lords brought no change in church practices. The

Luther, born in Eisleben in 1483 of peasant to-bourgeois parentage

Historical interest in Luther begins with his seventeenth year when he entered the university at Erfurt. Here he studied theology and came under the influence of Ockhamist thought, the wing of scholasticism that revived Nominalism in an attack upon the realism of St. Thomas Aquinas. He came in contact with Humanism through the work of Varro, Cicero, Livy, Ovid, Plautus, Terence and Juvenal—but he did not become a Humanist. His training in Latin, however, stood him in good stead when he decided, later, to translate the Bible into German.

When Luther, at the end of his studies, decided to abandon the pursuit of law and to enter a monastery, his father opposed it bitterly. But some inner need impelled Luther to make this move. The monastery he joined was, significantly, the Augustinian Lermutes in Erfurt. (Augustinianism it will be recalled, placed its strongest emphasis upon man's corruptibility and his complete dependence upon God's grace for salvation.)

Luther proved to be an excellent, though troubled monk, for he could not shake off a feeling of uncertainty in the matter of salvation. He had tried to find relief in the sacraments, but these did not help him. Ockham's philosophy brought him some comfort for it was Ockham's position that God's existence could not be established (as Thomas had tried) by reason. He could only be known through faith. God was omnipotent will, the destiny of all men lay in His mind and hands. But try as he might to be perfect, as commanded, Luther did not feel he had won the divine grace necessary for salvation. Then one day in 1512 or 1513, he was reflecting on the words of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: "For therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith as it is written, the just shall live by faith."

These words brought him a vision of the way out of his disturbed state. By himself, a man can do nothing to win the merits of Christ's sacrifice which washes away the stain of guilt and corruption, striving by good works to be holy in the sight of God will not work: man is saved by faith alone, by his unconditional belief in God's love—and that alone. This was to become the Protestant principle of justification by faith alone. Concealed in 1513 it was not until 1517 that the radical implications of this position became revealed.

The Indulgence Controversy. In a bull of March 31, 1513, Pope Julius II announced extension of an indulgence for the purpose of completing

to meet changing social conditions. Why, then, should the reform inaugurated by MARTIN LUTHER have had such drastic consequences?

Church abuses. The number of church abuses had multiplied but not significantly, over those that existed at the time of the Cluniac Reform. Many clergymen were ignorant and ineffective as priests; many led scandalous lives and in so doing broke their vows of poverty and chastity. The papal office was held by a number of Renaissance popes notorious for their loose and indulgent living and who were incredibly corrupt. They made a business out of the sale of religious offices and benefices, church offices and dispensations were placed on the auction block and those who won the bids and became church officers got their money back by charging outrageous fees for priestly services.

Still other venerated church practices were converted into profit-making enterprises. Two that figured largely in Luther's protest were the sale of relics and the sale of indulgences. Relics were objects believed to have been used by Christ, the Virgin and the saints and therefore possessed of miraculous power to cure the afflicted and to protect the threatened. Unrestrained and unrepented, relic hawkers traveled through Europe selling unlimited quantities of holy splinters from the true cross or from the bones of saints. When the fantastic proportions reached by this traffic were exposed by the Humanists a great revulsion followed. Even more controversy centered about the sale of indulgences.

An indulgence was a remission of all or part of the punishment for sinning in this life; it was effective in purgatory but not in hell. The practice was an ancient one and in the beginning granted after works of charity, fasting and the like. Church teaching held that Christ and the saints had accumulated a large treasury of merit while they were on earth; this treasury was deposited in heaven and the Pope possessed of 'the power of the keys' and the authority to bind and loose, could draw upon the treasury to remit punishment both on earth and in purgatory. No indulgence was valid unless the recipient was truly contrite, confessed his sins and was absolved. Since canonical penalties often inflicted hardships and inequities upon helpless people, the church began the practice of commutating penalties into almsgiving. From almsgiving to the sale of indulgences was a natural step for the Renaissance popes who cared little for the spiritual significance of the indulgence and much for its possibilities for fund raising. In fact, one of the popes turned over the traffic in indulgences to a

banking firm which collected one third of the take as their share of the "profits." When exposure, too, caused great indignation among faithful.

All these things had been before and had brought on reform movements, why should these series of abuses have brought on a schism? The reason lies deeper. Old abuses gather new force when they occur in a changed environment.

Waves of Doctrine. Disgust with the Pope's exercise of temporal power had stirred JOHN WYCLIF (1324?-1384) to denounce it, and to follow denunciation with demands that the Scriptures be elevated above papal power, and that the clergy be permitted to live secular lives (marriage, etc.) to reduce the amount of corruption that prevailed among them. He thought, too, that the Bible ought to be translated into the vernacular so that all would be able to read it.

The fall of the papacy into the "Babylonian Exile" revived Wyclifism after it had been suppressed and found an eloquent spokesman in a martyr in the person of JOHN HUS (1369-1415). Humanism added to the amount, not depth, of anti-clericalism for it did so from within the church. Valla, Mirandola, Lefevre, Colet, Reuchlin, von Hutten and Erasmus were merciless in their exposure of hair-splitting scholasticism and its practices of celibacy, poverty and obedience. Church practices like worship of saints and relic confession and absolution (on the ground that search did not reveal these practices among the first Christians) Humanists generally favored return to a simpler form of Christian practice.

What the Humanists favored the Mystics in the Church (Thomas à Kempis, Meister Eckhart, Heinrich Suso, Johann Tauler, and others) practiced. In imitation of Christ they rejected mechanical schemes of salvation for more direct and personal ones. By contemplation, prayer and fasting they tried to come into direct communion with God without any intermediary—that is, without the church. These men were placing considerable reliance upon justification by faith alone and not upon St. James's doctrine of 'good works.' Luthardt upon man's corruptibility and his need of faith caused a revival of interest in the epistles of Paul. Jacques Le Fèvre made a translation of them into Latin and John Colet delivered a popular series of lectures upon them. The very bases of church practice were being challenged.

Religion and Nationality. While the Church's power prevailed, criticism had perforce to be cautious, why did it suddenly become bold and

clericalism. When church critics found secular powers to support them by force of arm, they ceased to be fearful and did not hesitate to draw the conclusions from their criticisms.

Everywhere in Europe, save Germany and Italy, new national states had arisen and were making a strong assertion of secular sovereignty. In France, by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438) and the Concordat of Bologna (1516), the kings succeeded in winning for themselves the right to dictate ecclesiastical appointments, jurisdiction and tax levies, by the Statute of Provisions (1351, 1390) and the Statute of Praemunire (1353, 1390), the English kings had made a similar assertion, nor were the Spanish kings far behind the French and English in their demands. These gains against the church stimulated rather than appeased royal appetites. They eyed enviously the vast domains of the church and they resented the flow out of their countries of vast sums collected by the church in the form of annates, "Peter's Pence," indulgence fees, church court fines, income from vacant benefices, fees for bestowing the pallium upon bishops, etc. They felt that every effort of the church to excommunicate or to interdict was a violation of their sovereignty, they even turned hostile eyes upon the presence in their lands of church courts sharing judicial power with royal courts.

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The Germans of Martin Luther's time (1483-1546) were tormented by anticlerical criticism. Because they were disunited, there was no strong royal power to check the church, the result was that church abuses were magnified in Germany. Constant protests by the German feudal lords brought no change in church practices. The times awaited the man, and the man was Martin

Luther, born in Eisleben in 1483 of peasant-to-bourgeois parentage.

Historical interest in Luther begins with his seventeenth year when he entered the university at Erfurt. Here he studied theology and came under the influence of Ochamist thought, the wing of scholasticism that revived Nominalism in an attack upon the realism of St. Thomas Aquinas. He came in contact with Humanism through the work of Virgil, Cicero, Livy, Ovid, Plautus, Terence and Juvenal—but he did not become a Humanist. His training in Latin, however, stood him in good stead when he decided, later, to translate the Bible into German.

When Luther at the end of his studies decided to abandon the pursuit of law and to enter a monastery, his father opposed it bitterly. But some inner need impelled Luther to make this move. The monastery he joined was, significantly, the Augustinian Lermutes in Erfurt (Augustinianism, it will be recalled, placed its strongest emphasis upon man's corruptibility and his complete dependence upon God's grace for salvation).

Luther proved to be an excellent, though troubled monk, for he could not shake off a feeling of uncertainty in the matter of salvation. He had tried to find relief in the sacraments but these did not help him. Ocham's philosophy brought him some comfort for it was Ocham's position that God's existence could not be established (as Thomas had tried) by reason. He could only be known through faith. God was omnipotent will, the destiny of all men lay in His mind and hands. But try as he might to be perfect, as commanded, Luther did not feel he had won the divine grace necessary for salvation. Then one day in 1512 or 1513, he was reflecting on the words of St. Paul's *Epistle to the Romans*: "For therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith as it is written, the just shall live by faith."

These words brought him a vision of the way out of his disturbed state. By himself, a man can do nothing to win the merits of Christ's sacrifice which washes away the stain of guilt and corruption, striving by good works to be holy in the sight of God will not work; man is saved by faith alone, by his unconditional belief in God's love—and that alone. Thus was to become the Protestant principle of justification by faith alone. Conceived in 1513, it was not until 1517 that the radical implications of this position became revealed.

The Indulgence Controversy. In a bull of March 31, 1515, Pope Julius II announced extension of an indulgence for the purpose of completing

to meet changing social conditions. Why, then, should the reform inaugurated by MARTIN LUTHER have had such drastic consequences?

Church abuses. The number of church abuses had multiplied, but not significantly, over those that existed at the time of the Cluniac Reform. Many clergymen were ignorant and ineffective as priests, many led scandalous lives and in so doing broke their vows of poverty and chastity. The papal office was held by a number of Renaissance popes notorious for their loose and indulgent living and who were incredibly corrupt. They made a business out of the sale of religious offices and benefices, church offices and dispensations were placed on the auction block and those who won the bids and became church officers got their money back by charging outrageous fees for priestly services.

Still other venerated church practices were converted into profit-making enterprises. Two that figured largely in Luther's protest were the sale of relics and the sale of indulgences. Relics were objects believed to have been used by Christ, the Virgin and the saints and therefore possessed of miraculous power to cure the afflicted and to protect the threatened. Unrestrained and unproved, relic-hunters traveled through Europe selling unlimited quantities of holy splinters from the "true" cross or from the "bones" of saints. When the fantastic proportions reached by this traffic were exposed by the Humanists, a great revulsion followed. Even more controversy centered about the sale of indulgences.

An indulgence was a remission of all or part of the punishment for sinning in this life, it was effective in purgatory but not in hell. The practice was an ancient one and in the beginning granted after works of charity, fasting and the like. Church teaching held that Christ and the saints had accumulated a large "treasury of merit" while they were on earth, this treasury was deposited in heaven and the Pope, possessed of 'the power of the keys' and the authority to bind and loose, could draw upon the treasury to remit punishment both on earth and in purgatory. No indulgence was valid unless the recipient was truly contrite, confessed his sins and was absolved. Since canonical penalties often inflicted hardships and inequities upon help- less people, the church began the practice of commut- ing penalties into almsgiving. From almsgiving to the sale of indulgences was a natural step for the Renaissance popes who cared little for the spir- itual significance of the indulgence and much for its possibilities for fund raising. In fact, one of the popes turned over the traffic in indulgences to a

banking firm which collected one-third of a "take" as their share of the "profits." When exposed, this, too, caused great indignation among the faithful.

All these things had been before and had broog on reform movements, why should these same abuses have brought on a schism? The reason may lie deeper. Old abuses gather new force when they occur in a changed environment.

Waves of Doctrine. Disgust with the Pope's exercise of temporal power had stirred JOHN WYCLIF (1324?-1384) to denounce it, and to follow this denunciation with demands that the Scriptures be elevated above papal power, and that the clergy be permitted to live secular lives (marriage, etc.) to reduce the amount of corruption that prevailed among them. He thought, too, that the Bible ought to be translated into the vernacular so that all who could would read it.

The fall of the papacy into the "Babylonian Exile" revived Wyclifism after it had been suppressed and found an eloquent spokesman as martyr in the person of JOHN HUS (1369-burned 1415). Humanism added to the amount, not the depth, of anti clericalism for it did so from within the church. Valla, Mirandola, Lefevre, Colet, Reuchlin, von Hutten and Erasmus were merciless in their exposure of hair splitting scholasticism and its practices of celibacy, poverty and obedience. Church practices like worship of saints and relic confession and absolution (on the ground that its search did not reveal these practices among the first Christians). Humanists generally favored return to a simpler form of Christian practice.

What the Humanists favored the Mystics in the Church (Thomas a Kempis, Meister Eckhart, Heinrich Suso, Johann Tauler, and others) practiced. In "imitation of Christ" they rejected mechanical schemes of salvation for more direct and personal ones. By contemplation, prayer and fasting they tried to come into direct communion with God without any intermediary—that is, without the church. These men were placing considerable reliance upon justification by faith alone and not upon St. James's doctrine of "good works." Emphasis upon man's corruptibility and his need of faith caused a revival of interest in the epistles of St. Paul. Jacques Le Fevre made a translation of these into Latin and John Colet delivered a popular series of lectures upon them. The very bases of church practice were being challenged.

Religion and Nationality. While the Church's power prevailed, criticism had, perforce, to be cautious, why did it suddenly become bold and

eliminated, monasticism was abolished and clergy could marry, fasts, penitences, etc. were discarded as inconsistent with the doctrine of justification by faith alone (predestination (God knows beforehand the fate of man) and the authority of the Scriptures were stressed. These concepts were given written form by Melancthon in the Augsburg Confession of 1530.

While the church and its secular followers hesitated in their pursuit of the protected Luther, Ulrich von Hutten, a fierce Lutheran partisan, and Franz von Sickingen led the petty nobility in an assault upon the property of the archbishops and rich nobles. It was a desperate assault brought on by impoverishment caused by concentration of landed estates. They were crushed with difficulty in 1523.

A year later the lowest peasantry revolted. They were led by a religious sect called Anabaptists, who had said that each man can find his own way to salvation through faith and Scriptures alone. Anabaptism represented extreme individualism in that no clergy at all, continuous revelation by God to individuals who had the 'inner light,' literal interpretation of the Bible, millennialism (the immediate beginning of the Second Coming and Last Judgment) and belief in religious individualism led them to believe in destruction of all rank and class and thus to a 'total communism.' Anabaptists would not pay taxes, serve in armies, take oaths and the like. Their religious grievances flowed from the dissolution of the old village system caused by the decline of serfdom and the rise of employment for wages. In the Rhine region they turned loose their fury into murder, robbery, pillage of ecclesiastical and baronial estates.

In a pamphlet *Against the Thievish, Murderous Heresies of Peasants* Luther himself called for their destruction by striking, strangling and stabbing in secret or in public. They were crushed in 1525 after a year of rebellion. Their violence became, strangely, an extreme pacifism and in more modern times was evinced in the sects of Mennonites and Quakers. Both of these sects, however, had taken the pressure off Luther and ensured that his doctrine would survive and spread. Somewhat later, Lutheranism became the official religion of Denmark, Norway and Sweden.

THE SPREAD OF PROTESTANTISM

Switzerland Switzerland was ripe for religious transformation in the 16th century. It had won its

independence from the Hapsburgs (1499), had experienced the full impact of rising capitalism in towns like Zurich, Basel, Berne and Geneva, was thoroughly imbued with contempt for Catholic prohibitions on money making, had encouraged humanists to take refuge there from Catholic persecution and was outraged by papal financial exactions.

It was, however, divided into two camps: the Northern commercial cantons and the Southern agricultural ones. Religious reform took easily and rapidly in the North under the leadership of **ULRICH ZWINGLI** (1484-1531). Zwingli began his career as a reformer and Biblical Humanist. After a deep religious conversion in 1519 he began to preach these doctrines: original sin was not a fatal heritage and man was not thoroughly debased, the Eucharist was merely symbolic and memorial with nothing miraculous about it at all, the church was a democratic body of the faithful with Christ as head and Scriptures as law (congregationalism), priests could marry, images in church are forbidden by Scripture—only that literally ordained by the Bible was permitted. Zwingli's ideas led to a civil war between North and South, and a compromise Peace of Kappel (1531) which permitted each of the cantons to choose its own faith.

Calvinism. Ten years later, **JOHN CALVIN** (1509-1564) began his rule of the city of Geneva. Church and state were merged into a theocracy, sovereignty rested with representative bodies of clergy—a Congregation or senate and Consistory or assembly. To the latter was assigned the regulation of public morals: every household was placed under inspection, there was to be no dancing, card playing, theater, the Sabbath was rigidly enforced as was the practice of saying grace before meals, adulterers, 'witches,' blasphemers and heretics were treated as major criminals, punishment was by branding, flogging, stocks and hanging. What was the theological basis for this extreme puritanism?

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The whole transaction was kept strictly secret. The terms of the indulgence were liberal. Subscribers could name their confessors, the indulgence covered a wide range of cases of sinning, and there was assurance that after proper contrition and due confession full remission of the punishment for the sins would be granted. In Luther's province, a sub-commissariat was granted to John Tetzel, a Dominican prior of Leipzig. Tetzel's promotional activities were unrestrained; he exaggerated the value of the indulgence, he described luridly the anguish of souls in purgatory that could be rescued by purchase of an indulgence, and so on.

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theology of Aquinas, etc. The sale of indulgences was prohibited, plurality of benefices was illegal and theological seminaries were created in every diocese. True clerical literacy: an Index was set up to condemn forbidden writings. The reform among its other effects, gave rise to a new order. The Society of Jesus, founded by IGNATIUS LOYOLA.

The Jesuits, Loyola was concerned to return Catholicism to its true path and wrote a book of *Spiritual Exercises* as a guide to this path. The four parts of these exercises were related to the doctrines and ideas of the incarnation and Christ's mission as Saviour: the sacrifice on Calvary and the resurrection and ascension. For the practitioner this meant four steps of instruction—the diductive (or *grounding the facts*) the purgative (or *eliminating earth's desires*) the illuminative (or *acquiring the mystical truth*) and the unitive (or *joy in God*). Loyola's *Exercises* became an important means of winning followers to his proposed order.

In 1540 the order was granted official status. The *Spiritual Exercises* and a novitiate of two years was required before one could enter the order. Those accepted then took the vows of poverty, celibacy and obedience. The more able were trained to become masters of theology. After twelve years of

they were ordained priests.

The Jesuits became the master teachers of their time and efficient warriors for the faith. They conducted missionary activities in the four corners of the earth and founded seminaries and colleges in all countries they had a monopoly of all opinion and propaganda and it was due to their efforts that Spain, France, Italy, southern Germany and Poland remained within the Catholic fold. suffered no serious threat from Protestantism.

RESULTS OF THE REFORMATION

Negative Results Europe was divided into a multitude of hostile sects that, within a short time, became warring sects. Germany endured the Schmalkaldic War (1546-47) when Charles V tried to force all his subjects in the vast Holy Roman Empire into the Roman Catholic faith. The Emperor was able to compel a troubled acceptance which did not last. Renewed strife was temporarily ended by the Peace of Augsburg (1555). By this Peace, each prince could determine the religion of his subjects. Lutherans and Catholics were not to war upon one another neither were they to permit the existence of any other religion (Anabaptists, Calvinists, etc.). Secularized church

property was to remain so but there was to be no further secularization.

From 1555 to 1618 there was peace. Then the intolerant provisions of the Augsburg Peace, quarrel over secularized property and continued feudal feuds caused a renewal of war. A Thirty Years War was fought over the length and breadth of Germany (1618-48). It began when Bohemia which was Calvinist, revolted against Ferdinand II the Hapsburg ruler of the Holy Roman Empire. They were spurred to revolt by the German Protestants. The Spanish legions of the Holy Roman Emperor crushed the Bohemians and their German instigators. Christian IV, Lutheran King of Denmark, entered the fray on behalf of his co-religionists. He was defeated by the brilliant generalship of TILLY and WALLENSTEIN (England had been lending money to the Protestant forces.)

The Protestants defeated, Ferdinand issued an Edict of Restitution which gave back to the church all the lands it had lost since the Peace of Augsburg. The Catholics now began to quarrel over a division of the spoils and thus gave Gustavus of Sweden an opportunity to enter the conflict. In an epochal battle at Lutzen (1632) Adolphus met Wallenstein and defeated him at the cost of his own life. With the Catholic Hapsburgs reeling the Catholic CARL VON RICHELIEU decided to enter the war for France on the side of the Protestants. Here obviously, was no longer a religious war but a national and political one. This was confirmed by the Treaty of Westphalia which concluded the war and the provisions of which were:

- France secured Alsace and Metz, Toul and Verdun
- Sweden got lands along the Baltic and North Sea coasts of Germany
- Some German states increased their land holdings.
- The United Netherlands won its independence
- The independence of the Swiss Confederation was given international recognition.

The religious provisions were

- The Peace of Augsburg was re-confirmed but Calvinism was given equal footing with Catholicism and Lutheranism—subject to local determination
- Protestants won the right to share the rule of the Holy Roman Empire and to retain secularized lands.
- The restoration of Catholicism in Bohemia Austria and Bavaria was confirmed

Bitter religious war took place in France too here it was between Catholic monarchs (Francis I, Henry II) Catherine de Medici the Guise family

signs, indications of who were the elect they were men of strict rectitude, evident moral character, who openly did God's work through study of His Scripture and policing of sinners. Any Calvinist who felt himself among the elect, strove with might and main to deserve his good fortune. Calvinism, thus, was Old Testamentary rather than New, stressed the overpowering omnipotence of God, His Law over His Mercy, outward observance rather than inner assurance. By stressing thrift and hard work, Calvin gave some theological support to the economics of the middle class. Finally, by eliminating all vestiges of a priesthood and making the congregation of the "elect" the sovereign body of the state, Calvin gave a tremendous impetus to the growing historical force of republicanism (albeit, in a theocratic form).

In spite of its severity, Calvinism appealed to many intellectuals in many lands. The Calvinists of Geneva soon spread their gospel abroad to influence the Huguenots in France, the Puritans in England, the Presbyterians of Scotland and the Dutch Reformed Church in Holland. Through emigration of these Protestants to America, Calvinism became a decisive force in shaping the American heritage.

England. On the European continent, Protestantism rose from below to involve the reigning monarch, in England it came from the monarchy itself. Church abuses, royal envy of ecclesiastical power, widespread Humanism, Wyclifism and Lutheranism—all had prepared the groundwork for the decisive break with Rome made by the Tudor King HENRY VIII. The immediate cause for the break between Henry and Pope Clement VII was Henry's preference for more than one wife.

Papal delays and Henry's hunger for the church's wealth produced a series of enactments which created an Anglican Church fully independent of Rome with the English Monarch at its head. Monasteries were dissolved and their wealth confiscated and seized. In 1539 Parliament passed the Six Articles which formulated the Anglican creed. In essence, it made the Anglican an established (state) church, but it retained almost all of the Roman Catholic practices—confession, baptism, masses for the dead, ordained priesthood, the Eucharist, etc.

While all Protestants welcomed the break with Rome, some were decidedly unhappy with the "orthodox" character of the church established by the Six Articles. During the reign of Edward VI (1547-1553) Protestants were in control of the English government and made drastic revisions in the

Anglican church. Marriage was permitted, priests, English took the place of Latin in services, the use of images was abolished and of the sacraments but baptism and the Eucharist were abolished. Justification by faith became the official dogma.

Queen Mary (1553-1558) attempted to restore Catholicism completely. She even went so far as to marry Philip II, the Catholic King of Spain and a arch enemy of the English nation. National feeling against Spain was Mary's undoing and spelled the final defeat of efforts to restore England to Catholicism.

Under Queen Elizabeth I, England took the path of nationalism and Protestantism. An Act of Supremacy (1559) made the monarch the head of the church, an Act of Uniformity (1559) established a Prayer Book printed in English as the basis of worship, greatly simplified the forms of worship, adopted a symbolic interpretation of the Lord's Supper, and final form was given to the creed of the Anglican Church in the Thirty-Nine Articles (ca. 1570). As finally formulated, the creed proved quite elastic and open to interpretation. It permitted membership in one church of "high-church" (Anglo Catholics (who differ from Roman Catholics only in rejecting the authority of the Pope) and "low-church" Anglicans who were authentic Protestants.

Scotland meanwhile, under the leadership of John Knox, took the path of Presbyterianism (Calvinism). Ireland remained Roman Catholic. Needless to say, religious issues agitated English political life for many years to come, until, in fact, religious toleration was enacted in the 19th century.

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION

Even before the decisive Protestant break with Rome, efforts were being made to reform the abuses in the life of the clergy. Unlawful practices were severely punished, unworthy churchmen were dismissed. After the Reformation launched by the Protestants, a number of Popes (notably Paul II, Paul IV, Pius V and Sixtus V—1534-1590 included) began to purify papal practices. Vicious practices were checked, papal finances reorganized and high offices filled with conscientious priests.

As a result of the activities by these Popes, the Council of Trent was held (1545-1563). All of the church's doctrines were submitted to the council for review and all were upheld—the Trinity, good works, the sacraments, apostolic succession, the

theology of Aquinas, etc. The sale of indulgences was prohibited, plurality of benefices was illegalised, theological seminaries were created in every diocese to raise clerical literacy, an Index was set up to condemn forbidden writings. The reform among its other effects, gave rise to a new order, The Society of Jesus, founded by **IGNATIUS LOYOLA**.

The Jesuits Loyola was concerned to return Catholicism to an ascetic path and wrote a book of *Spiritual Exercises* as a guide to this path. The four parts of these exercises were related to the doctrines and ideas of (a) the incarnation and Christ's mission as Savior, the sacrifice on Calvary and the resurrection and ascension. For the practitioner, this meant four steps of instruction—the didactic (or getting the facts), the purgative (or eliminating earthly desires), the illuminative (or acquiring the mystical truth) and the unitive (or joy in God). Loyola's *Exercises* became an important means of winning followers to his proposed order.

In 1540 the order was granted official status. The spiritual exercises and a novitiate of two years was required before one could enter the order. Those accepted then took the vows of poverty, celibacy and obedience. The more able were trained to become masters of theology. After twelve years of study they were ordained priests.

The Jesuits became the master teachers of the obedient warriors for the faith. They conducted missionary activities in the four corners of the earth and founded seminaries and colleges, in archaic countries they had a monopoly of all education and propaganda, and it was due to their activities that Spain, France, Italy, southern Germany and Poland remained within the Catholic fold and suffered no serious threat from Protestantism.

RESULTS OF THE REFORMATION

Negative Results Europe was divided into a multitude of hostile sects that, within a short period, became warring sects. Germany endured the Schmalkaldic War (1546-47) when Charles V tried to force all his subjects in the vast Holy Roman Empire into the Roman Catholic faith. The emperor was able to compel a troubled acceptance which did not last. Renewed strife was temporarily settled by the Peace of Augsburg (1555).

By this Peace, each prince could determine the religion of his subjects. Lutherans and Catholics were not to war upon one another, neither were they to permit the existence of any other religion (Anabaptists, Calvinists, etc.) Secularized church

property was to remain so, but there was to be no further secularization.

From 1555 to 1618 there was peace. Then the intolerant provisions of the Augsburg Peace, quarrel over secularized property and continued feudal feuds caused a renewal of war. A Thirty Years War was fought over the length and breadth of Germany (1618-48). It began when Bohemia, which was Calvinist, revolted against Ferdinand II, the Hapsburg ruler of the Holy Roman Empire. They were spurred to revolt by the German Protestants. The Spanish legions of the Holy Roman Emperor crushed the Bohemians and their German instigators. Christian IV, Lutheran King of Denmark, entered the fray on behalf of his co-religionists. He was defeated by the brilliant generalship of **TILLY** and **WALLENSTEIN** (England had been lending money to the Protestant forces.)

The Protestants defeated, Ferdinand issued an Edict of Resitution which gave back to the church all the lands it had lost since the Peace of Augsburg. The Catholics now began to quarrel over a division of the spoils and this gave Gustavus of Sweden an opportunity to enter the conflict. In an epochal battle at Lutzen (1632) Adolphus met Wallenstein and defeated him at the cost of his own life. With the Catholic Hapsburgs reeling, the Catholic cardinal **RICHIEUV** decided to enter the war for France on the side of the Protestants. Here, obviously, was no longer a religious war but a national and political one. This was confirmed by the Treaty of Westphalia which concluded the war and the provisions of which were

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The religious provisions were

- The Peace of Augsburg was re-confirmed, but Calvinism was given equal footing with Catholicism and Lutheranism—subject to local determination.
- Protestants won the right to share the rule of the Holy Roman Empire and to retain secularized lands.
- The restoration of Catholicism in Bohemia, Austria and Bavaria was confirmed.

Bitter religious war took place in France too, here it was between Catholic monarchs (Francis I, Henry II), Catherine de Medici, the Guise family

signs, indications of who were the elect they were men of strict rectitude, evident moral character, who openly did God's work through study of His Scripture and policing of sinners. Any Calvinist who felt himself among the elect, strove with might and main to deserve his good fortune. Calvinism, thus, was Old Testamentary rather than New, stressed the overpowering omnipotence of God, His Law over His Mercy, outward observance rather than inner assurance. By stressing thrift and hard work, Calvin gave some theological support to the economics of the middle class. Finally, by eliminating all vestiges of a priesthood and making the congregation of the 'elect' the sovereign body of the state, Calvin gave a tremendous impetus to the growing historical force of republicanism (albeit, in a theocratic form).

In spite of its severity, Calvinism appealed to many intellectuals in many lands. The Calvinists of Geneva soon spread their gospel abroad to influence the Huguenots in France, the Puritans in England, the Presbyterians of Scotland and the Dutch Reformed Church in Holland. Through emigration of these Protestants to America, Calvinism became a decisive force in shaping the American heritage.

England On the European continent, Protestantism rose from below to involve the reigning monarchs, in England it came from the monarchy itself. Church abuses, royal envy of ecclesiastical power, widespread Humanism, Wyclifism and Lutheranism—all had prepared the groundwork for the decisive break with Rome made by the Tudor King HENRY VIII. The immediate cause for the break between Henry and Pope Clement VII was Henry's preference for more than one wife.

Papal delays and Henry's hunger for the church's wealth produced a series of enactments which created an Anglican Church fully independent of Rome with the English Monarch at its head. Monasteries were dissolved and their wealth confiscated and seized. In 1539 Parliament passed the Six Articles which formulated the Anglican creed in essence, it made the Anglican an established (state) church, but it retained almost all of the Roman Catholic practices—confession, baptism, masses for the dead, an ordained priesthood, the Eucharist, etc.

While all Protestants welcomed the break with Rome, some were decidedly unhappy with the 'orthodox' character of the church established by the Six Articles. During the reign of Edward VI (1547-1553) Protestants were in control of the English government and made drastic revisions in the

Anglican church. Marriage was permitted, priests, English took the place of Latin in services, the use of images was abolished and of the sacraments but baptism and the Eucharist were abolished. Justification by faith became official dogma.

Queen Mary (1553-1558) attempted to restore Catholicism completely. She even went so far as to marry Philip II, the Catholic king of Spain and arch enemy of the English nation. National feeling against Spain was Mary's undoing and spelled final defeat of efforts to restore England to Catholicism.

Under Queen Elizabeth I, England took the path of nationalism and Protestantism. An Act of Supremacy (1559) made the monarch the head of church, an Act of Uniformity (1559) established a Prayer Book printed in English as the basis of worship, greatly simplified the forms of worship, adopted a symbolic interpretation of the Last Supper, and final form was given to the creed of the Anglican Church in the Thirty-Nine Articles (ca 1570). As finally formulated the creed proved quite elastic and open to interpretation. It permitted membership in one church of 'high-church' Anglo Catholics (who differ from Roman Catholics only in rejecting the authority of the Pope) and 'low-church' Anglicans who were authentic Protestants.

Scotland meanwhile, under the leadership of John Knox took the path of Presbyterianism (Calvinism). Ireland remained Roman Catholic. Needless to say, religious issues agitated English political life many years to come, until, in fact, religious toleration was enacted in the 19th century.

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Bitter religious war was still going on in France too, here it was between Catholics and Huguenots (Henry II).

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FRENCH ABSOLUTISM

French monarchs in the 17th and 18th century had all of the guile of their Spanish neighbors, their corruptness, their love of power and ostentation. Yet they were able to create the model of absolute government, the classic pattern of it, where the Spaniards failed. The reason for their success was that they accepted and encouraged support of the 'bourgeoisie'—the enterprising middle class. This necessitated that they abandon fanaticism in religion since many of the middle class had adopted the Protestant faith. In fact, when Henry IV, the first of the Bourbons, came to power in 1589 he was a practicing Huguenot. To secure power he abandoned his Protestantism, once in power he issued the Edict of Nantes (1598)—a broad act of tolerance granting religious freedom to both Catholics and Protestants. Having eliminated the burden of being a 'defender of the faith,' Henry and his 'prime minister,' MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE SULLY, were able to concentrate on forcing the nobility to submit to the royal authority.

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Sully overhauled the financial policies of the royal administration and began a strict system of accounting to improve efficiency. He fostered agriculture by reducing taxes on the peasantry, forbidding the seizure of agricultural tools in the payment of debts, draining marshlands, encouraging scientific tillage and permitting sales of foodstuffs abroad (to build up gold reserves).

Trade and industry also received his attention. New industries were introduced—silk, glass, carpet and leather, protective tariffs were levied, bounties and subsidies were generously granted, roads, canals and bridges were constructed, a merchant marine was built, and raw materials were sought by conquest of colonies overseas. Realizing, too, that France needed peace in this effort to build up her national resources, Sully fathered one of the earliest proposals for a 'league of nations' which he called the "Grand Design."

Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642). A religious

fanatic assassinated Henry IV and the fell to a child who was named Louis regency was in the hands of Marie de Henry's fanatic, narrow minded, incoherent ambitious wife. She almost dissipated all the made by Sully in establishing the absolutism French monarch by draining the treasury, ating the alliance with the bourgeoisie through Estates General (called in 1614 and not until the revolutionary year of 1789) and a pro-Spanish policy that would have France to a second-rate role. In the course of her scheming she selected as an assistant ARMAND RICHELIEU, a bishop of the small diocese of Luçon. Richelieu proved to be more guileful, subtle and calculating than the queen regent, eventually he had her exiled for opposing his policies.

These policies had two objectives: to make the royal power supreme in France and to make France supreme in Europe. To these ends he crushed the Huguenots, not for their religious differences, but because they lived within France as a state within the state, as a potential source of national disunity. Richelieu reduced their power, but did not destroy or exile them since they constituted valuable middle class support for his designs.

Catholic nobility was similarly reduced by Cardinal Richelieu's policy of destroying their fortified castles, uncovering their conspiracies through an effective system of spies and executing all who plotted against him. They were eliminated from the administrative structure and their places were given to civil servants drawn mostly from the middle class who were granted wide powers of taxation, police and justice.

In pursuit of his second aim, Richelieu strove to undermine the power of Catholic Spain and the Catholic Hapsburgs. This meant that he had to give financial and military support to the Protestant forces struggling against the Spanish Hapsburg coalition. Thus, during the Thirty Years War Richelieu supported the Protestant German Princes, Swedes and Dutch and, in fact, helped turn the tide in their favor. When he died, in 1642, the frivolous monarch Louis XIII was in fact absolute and France had become a major power.

Jules Cardinal Mazarin (1602-1661). Louis XIII died a year after Richelieu and once again the crown passed to a child, Louis XIV. In charge of the king's government was CARDINAL MAZARIN, an Italian imported and trained by Richelieu as his successor.

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Foreign difficulties were stabilized none too soon when in 1649 came the uprising of the Fronde (1648-52) the last, desperate effort of the nobility to retain the absolute powers of the French monarchy. The nobles were able to rally to their support the middle-class elements, common people, clerics and lesser gentry—all of whom had accumulated grievances. The Fronde uprising was crushed and absolute power of the monarch was established. Louis was prepared for Louis XIV to say truthfully "LE zai, c'est moi,"—"I am the State."

The Age of Louis XIV. Absolutism reached its zenith in the reign of the 'Grand Monarch' Louis XIV. Jean-Baptiste Bossuet (1627-1704) stated the case for Louis. Government, argued Bossuet, is divinely ordained as a natural form of organized political society, monarchy is the best of all governments. As a father rules his family, so the king rules his subjects by succession, so with monarchs and the nation. The hereditary monarch is a sacred person for he is anointed by the church, "father" of the people, his power is absolute and accountable to God alone. Against an evil king prayer is effective. "As in God are united all virtues and every virtue, so all the powers of all individuals in a community are united in the person of the king."

Louis undertook to complete the centralized administration begun by Richelieu and Mazarin. Ministries of finance, army, navy, public works, etc., were created and staffed by professional civil servants. These officials were stripped of all power to make decisions, all decisions were made by the king and carried out by his subordinates.

Art and literature were also centralized to serve the ends of royal absolutism. Resident at Versailles (the fabulous royal palace) were some of the nation's most gifted men—MAZARIN, architect of the palace, the Grand Trianon and the dome of the Invalides; LAMOTTE, the sculptor, LE BRUN, the painter, LULLY, composer for opera and ballet, CORNEILLE, MOLIÈRE and RACINE, the great dramatists-poets, LA FONTAINE, fabulist, BOSSUET, philosopher and

apologist. Together, these writers, composers, artists and architects made Versailles the cultural center of the world. The French language, French manners and French arts were to conquer Europe as Louis's armies could never do.

Colbertism. Even more than his predecessors Louis realized that he had to cement an alliance between the middle class and the royal power. In 1665 JEAN-BAPTISTE COLBERT (1619-1683) he found the perfect instrument for achieving this goal. Colbert was himself the son of a merchant and loyal to his group for he felt that the desires of the bourgeoisie were synonymous with the needs of France. He aimed therefore to reduce government expenditures by eliminating graft, introducing accurate book-keeping and increasing the number of nobility on the tax rolls, to establish a system of mercantilism through protection, bounties, monopolies, colonies and favorable balances of trade, to open wider the lines of communication through roads, canals, navies and merchant marine, to secure effective enforcement of mercantile regulations by reorganization of the courts and police administration.

Colbert further sought to bring the same bourgeois efficiency into military affairs and the result was that he introduced strict discipline, regimental differentiation and officer gradation, checked on all contracts, introduced new arms and tactics, and built the most formidable series of fortifications in Europe.

The Decline of French Absolutism. Power corrupts, said Lord Acton, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. There is no better way to explain the decline of French absolutism. Louis, for example, was not satisfied to pursue the century-old French foreign policy of checking Spanish and Hapsburg aggression, instead, he invented an aggressive policy of his own. Every nation, argued Louis, should make an effort to reach its "natural boundaries" (This doctrine was to be re-echoed in American history as the 'doctrine of manifest destiny'). In the case of France, the natural boundaries were, apparently, the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rhine River and the Atlantic Ocean. Determined to secure these for France, Louis waged three wars—the War against the Spanish Netherlands (1667-1668), the Dutch War (1672-1678) against Holland, and the Palatinate War (1689-1697) against a wide coalition made up of the princes of North Germany, Spain, Sweden and the Dutch Netherlands for control of the Rhineland.

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European powers. When, in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713), he sought to annex Spain through a grandson, he was stopped by a coalition of English, Dutch, Austrians and Germans and in the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) he had to sit by without protest while Austria fattened on the Spanish Netherlands, Milan, Naples and Sardinia; and England annexed Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Hudson Bay, Gibraltar, Minorca.

Failure abroad was accompanied by failures at home. The frivolities of Versailles swelled to an orgy of self-indulgence. Intrigue took the place of efficient administration and royal mistresses wielded the power of state ministers. The Catholic Church was bent to his will: Bossuet proved to Louis's satisfaction that the sovereignty of the king is independent of the pope; that a general clerical council is superior to the pope; that the pope could not abridge the privileges of the French church.

Louis then reversed the century-old practice of toleration of religious minorities. In 1685 he revoked the Edict of Nantes and persecuted both Protestants and Jansenists (a Catholic group who believed that beyond the sacraments a believer must experience a "conversion" to be saved). Moreover, increasingly he chose bishops from the ranks of corrupt nobles, thus undermining the integrity of the Catholic hierarchy and causing wide dissatisfaction among the people. Finally, war and regal extravagance drained the treasury and forced the king to increase the tax load on the peasantry. Louis's death in 1704 was celebrated widely throughout France.

Après Moi Le Déluge. Louis XV (1710-1774), great grandson of Louis XIV, was a tragic figure. He foresaw clearly what the fate of France would be if the policies of the Grand Monarch were continued. "After me" he predicted accurately, "comes the flood." It did, in the form of the French Revolution.

But he was unable to act on what he saw. He surrendered to every vice at Versailles. Mesdames Chateauroux, Pompadour and du Barry ruled France. Privileges were accorded the parasitic nobility while burdens were thrust on the peasantry and the bourgeoisie. In spite of approaching bankruptcy, France undertook to fight in two major wars—the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years War. In the latter she suffered her worst defeat and lost all her possessions in Canada and India to England. When Louis XV died, France was already seriously weakened. Then came "Le Déluge."

PRUSSIAN ABSOLUTISM

The Hohenzollern dynasty which ruled Prussia was active in European history from the 15th century onward but did not rise to prominence until the reign of FREDERICK WILLIAM (1640-1688) known as the "Great Elector." Frederick William was able to expand his kingdom by clever diplomacy and success at arms. He established the royal power on an absolutist basis and won common approval by tireless work in building up the economy of Prussia.

Under Frederick William I (his grandson) Prussia's reputation was enhanced. This Frederick William concentrated his energies in building the famed Prussian army, a rigid military machine superbly disciplined, professional, and governed by a devoted General Staff. Some of the same energy was poured by Frederick into constructing a bureaucracy for administration, as disciplined, professional and devoted. Thus the mentality of the German people was shaped to complete obedience.

Frederick William I was succeeded in 1740 Frederick II—"Frederick the Great." He won his title by his demonstrated abilities in the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years War.

Mid-Eighteenth Century Wars. Frederick determined to free Prussia from the control of the Austrian Hapsburgs. In the same year that Frederick became king, Maria Theresa succeeded to the Hapsburg crown. Frederick contracted with Bavaria and France to dismember Maria's kingdom (Prussia was to secure Silesia, France the Austrian Netherlands).

Maria rallied the rest of the Austrian empire to her cause. She found unexpected support, too, in England for at this time England was engaged in the "War of Jenkin's Ear" with France's Bourbon satellite Spain. From being a war over the "Austrian Succession" the conflict spread into a "world war" and was fought in Europe, India and America. It was fought to a stalemate and none of the powers made significant gains—except Frederick II, who retained his aggressively seized Silesia.

Stalemates are not conducive to peace. The years after the "peace" settlement at Aix-la-Chapelle (1763) the conflict was renewed. But the sides shifted in what was to become a "diplomatic revolution." Austria and France realized that they had a common enemy in Frederick the Great and formed an alliance against him; Russia and Sweden joined them. England, her policy directed toward maintaining a "balance of power" on the continent.

France to a second-rate power, with Prussia. Once more it was Frederick began the hostilities with an attempt to annex

power. The chief sufferer in the Seven Years War was France. In the Treaty of Paris of 1763 England got Canada and all the land that France held near the Gulf of St. Lawrence and east of the Mississippi except New Orleans, all of the French West Indies and all of India except five trading posts which the French were permitted to retain. Frederick II. In the two decades following the Seven Years War Frederick applied his absolutism to the reconstruction of the Prussian state. He encouraged immigration into Prussia by generous land bounties and travel subsidies, he reduced taxes on Prussian landlords and then forced them to employ their gains to rebuilding farmhouses and farmsteads, he reclaimed swampland and pioneered in the introduction of new crops such as the potato. By strengthening agriculture, he instituted the tenets of mercantilism to foster trade, commerce & manufacturing.

His absolutism-like that of Joseph II of Austria & Catherine the Great of Russia, his contemporaries—was decidedly "benevolent" in that it led to considerable economic gains for the mass of the citizens. Frederick prided himself on being a philosopher, an accomplished musician, a patron of the arts. He promoted religious toleration and popular education. His concern for rational procedures led him to reform the entire Prussian administration of government and justice, and he succeeded in developing a sound economy. But the base of Prussianism was still absolutism. Power flowed from a single source—Frederick—and no one dared oppose its course.

AUSTRIAN ABSOLUTISM

Not to be outdone by Frederick, Joseph II of Austria also pursued a course of paternal benevolence to his subjects. In his reign, Joseph II of the French phyllosophes found these beliefs obnoxious and Joseph had to wait until her death in 1780 to make the transformation he sought in the Austrian kingdom.

Once in power, he abolished feudalism in Austria. The serfs were emancipated, feudal tenure was prohibited, the right to buy and sell land and to move freely about the realm was accorded to all. Old feudal governments were replaced by modernized districts under civil administrators. Justice was reformed and equality before the law established. Monasteries were stripped of their surplus wealth and wide social reforms were instituted (e.g., schools, hospitals, asylums, orphanages). Religious toleration became the law of the land and the Jews were finally permitted to remove the "yellow badge" they had been forced to wear, were admitted to Austrian citizenship with all of its rights and privileges.

In the short run, Joseph's reforms failed. The grant of freedom from above had no stabilizing base since Austria had failed to develop an effective middle class. The result was that peasants revolted, nobles rebelled, churchmen instigated violence, national groups strove for independence—freedom became turmoil. In the long run, Joseph's policies became the pattern not only for Austria but for all the world.

RUSSIAN ABSOLUTISM

Russia entered the rim of Western civilization during the 17th century. Her previous orientation was eastward. Geographically her plains, tundras and forests stretched to the Orient. Nature closed her off from the west for six months of the year. For centuries she was dominated by eastern conquerors—Tatars, Mongols, etc. Her first "westernizers" looked to eastern Byzantium for guidance and when she was Christianized Russia adopted the eastern Greek Orthodox faith.

The Rise of Absolutism. The earliest rulers of the Russian land were feudal lords (*boyars*) and upon them fell the task of breaking the Mongolian hold upon Russia. From the ranks of the boyars centered around Moscow arose Ivan III (1462-1505) who effectively broke the power of the Mongols, assumed the title of Tsar (king) and inherited the leadership of the Greek Orthodox faith when Constantinople fell in 1453 to the Ottoman Turks.

This achievement provided a base for expansion of the royal power. Ivan the Terrible (1533-1584) conquered the Volga basin and began the Russian march across Siberia. It was he that made the first commercial contacts with the West. At home he

European powers. When, in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713), he sought to annex Spain through a grandson, he was stopped by a coalition of English, Dutch, Austrians and Germans and in the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) he had to sit by without protest while Austria fattened on the Spanish Netherlands, Milan, Naples and Sardinia, and England annexed Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Hudson Bay, Gibraltar, Minorca.

Failure abroad was accompanied by failures at home. The frivolities of Versailles swelled to an orgy of self-indulgence. Intrigue took the place of efficient administration and royal mistresses wielded the power of state ministers. The Catholic Church was bent to his will. Bossuet proved to Louis's satisfaction that the sovereignty of the king is independent of the pope, that a general clerical council is superior to the pope, that the pope could not abridge the privileges of the French church.

Louis then reversed the century-old practice of toleration of religious minorities. In 1685 he revoked the Edict of Nantes and persecuted both Protestants and Jansenists (a Catholic group who believed that beyond the sacraments a believer must experience a 'conversion' to be saved). Moreover, increasingly, he chose bishops from the ranks of corrupt nobles thus undermining the integrity of the Catholic hierarchy and causing wide dissatisfaction among the people. Finally, war and regal extravagance drained the treasury and forced the king to increase the tax load on the peasantry. Louis's death in 1704 was celebrated widely throughout France.

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motion operated according to a few simple
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Copernicus' simplification of astronomy
the geocentric system of common sense
showing that the sun was stationary and
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System, the great contribution of Copernicus
rejection of "common sense," his insistence
on observation and method

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which he could not escape. Now came Johannes Kepler
of Brahe's star-charts and combined them
with Copernicus' framework to produce the first
work in deriving a few geometrical axioms
from an infinity of stellar positions.

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Philosophical Impact of the Scientific Revolution. It is not easy to reconstruct the impact which
these scientific discoveries had upon the minds of
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account for all phenomena. There was no purpose
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an infinity of worlds (Bruno), the fundamental
reality is space, motion and energy (Descartes),
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Experimentation. Analyze—systematize said
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centralized the Russian state by adopting the Byzantine mode of administration, disinheriting the feudal lords murdering all opponents and building a national army with the Cossacks as a base. A 'time of troubles' followed Ivan's reign and it was not until 1682 when PETER THE GREAT came to the throne that the 'westernization' of Russia was resumed.

Peter the Great (1682-1725). Peter was the first conscious westernizer in Russian history. In fact he began his reign with a study trip into Europe. He studied carefully European methods of production, government, science, medicine, engineering, art etc., and when he returned to Russia he brought with him a small army of European architects, engineers and technicians of all kinds to help him reconstruct the body and soul of Russia.

Peter's administrative reforms were similar to those adopted in France, Prussia, Sweden and elsewhere. Ministries were established for the major areas of government, old feudal localities were abolished and centralized administrative units set up, trained civil servants replaced feudal favorites.

His attention thus focused on the west, Peter built himself a 'window on the west' at St. Petersburg on the Baltic and thus became his capital. He then plunged into the wars of the west by a series of aggressive attacks upon Sweden in alliance with Denmark and Poland. As a result of these aggressions Peter added to the already vast Russian realm

the territories of Karelia, Finland, Estonia and Livonia.

Catherine II (1762-1796). An amelioration of Russian despotism seemed likely when Catherine became the Tsarina. Her predecessor, Elizabeth, had substantially fostered art and education in Russia. Catherine seemed determined to complete Peter's program of westernization with benevolence. She established contacts with the great French philosophers; she forced the French language upon the Russian court. But Catherine's liberalism never got beyond the verbal level. In practice she imposed ever more tyrannical despotism upon the Russian people. They were reduced from serfs to virtual slaves as Catherine strengthened the hand of the nobility, and crushed brutally every effort of the serfs to win emancipation.

Catherine was far more successful in her pursuit of aggressive imperialist policies than in her pursuit of liberal ideals. Together with Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa she participated in the destruction of the Polish state and shared in the partition of its land in 1772, 1793 and 1795. In a series of Turkish wars (1768-1792) she established Russia on the Black and Caspian Seas as well as the Baltic.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the Russia had become the model of the absolutist state, firmly established on the base of universal slavery and illiteracy and the constant application of terror.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

THE GREAT INTELLECTUAL REVOLUTION

BACKGROUND

As Western Civilization entered the seventeenth century, a number of forces combined to produce a revolution in man's conception of the universe. Man's new view of the universe led to the complete repudiation of Aristotelian thought and to a sharp modification of the church's view of the universe. More and more European thinkers came to the realization that Aristotle's reasoning was ineffectual, his physics was moral rather than scientific, that is, was divided into *good* motions and *bad* motions, *good* causes and *bad* causes, his classifications were static and were based on supposedly unchanging forms and essences, that, finally, his formulations were useless for they gave to man no control over natural

forces. They pointed with scorn to the Aristotelian scholastics—engaged in fruitless, impractical discussions, repeating endlessly proofs by authorities who were no authorities quibbling over the form of knowledge and producing none.

Such were the arguments that flowed from the hostile pens of William of Ockham, Peter, Ramon, Francois Rabelais and Francis Bacon. These critics of Aristotelianism pointed to another mode of thought that had begun to appear with increasing frequency during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

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an exact measurement and only then the formulation of general laws of nature

Medieval habits, of course, did not slough off easily. The first of the scientists still resorted primarily to reasoning to mathematical demonstration or hypothetical formulation. These were the methods employed by Ramus, Bruno, Leonardo Copernicus and even Galileo. Both Leonardo and Galileo assumed that nature begins with a cause which is imposed by man into mathematical formulae which can then be put to the test of experience. It was this "test of experience," however, that men like Francis Bacon began to insist upon. Copernicus had noted that untested experience was unreliable in its extreme.

Copernicus. In 1543 there appeared a truly revolutionary volume with the title *De Revolutionibus*. Its purpose was to find some more rational methods for explaining the irregularities noticed in the movements of the planets. Its author, NICOLAS COPERNICUS, was convinced that the Ptolemaic and Aristotelian explanations of celestial movements violated the basic principle that the cosmos operated according to a few simple laws; that the great diversity of movement was only apparent; that a few geometrical axioms could be used to abolish all superfluous causes.

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Brahe and Kepler. The Copernican hypothesis set men to work to seek supporting data. Without accepting the Copernican theory, TYCHO BRAHE had accumulated a mass of facts about star movements—all without a telescope. Now came JOHANN KEPLER who took Brahe's star-charts and combined them with Copernicus's framework to produce the first masterpiece in deriving a few geometrical axioms to explain an infinity of stellar positions.

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the south German states to this union. This was done by forcing France to declare war on Prussia in the same way that Austria had done. In the case of France, Bismarck started the trouble by promoting the cause of Hohenzollern for the throne of Spain. Since this would surround France with Hohenzollerns (the ruling family of Prussia) Napoleon objected strenuously. In the course of his objections, Napoleon sent an ambassador to the Prussian King at Ems to demand that a promise be given that no Hohenzollern would become king of Spain. The Prussian king sent Bismarck an account of this meeting in an Ems Dispatch. Bismarck edited this dispatch so that, when published, it became "a red flag to the Gallic bull." France declared war and was crushed in ten months after a long, bitter siege of Paris. In the Treaty of Frankfurt (1871) France had to cede to Prussia Alsace-Lorraine, had to pay a billion-dollar indemnity for the cost of the war, and had to suffer an army of occupation until the indemnity was paid. More important, however, was the fact that during the war the south German states joined with Prussia in a union that was consolidated in 1871 as the German Reich with Kaiser William I at the helm.

RUSSIA

In 1815 Russia was the largest state in Europe with the greatest amalgam of peoples—Great Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, Rumanians, Finns, Letts, Germans, Lithuanians, Tartars, Mongols etc. etc. The prevailing religion was Greek Orthodox; but there were large islands of Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Mohammedans and Buddhists. More than ninety per cent of the people were attached to the land and, until 1861, had the legal status of serfs. In that year, Tsar Alexander emancipated the serfs legally, but introduced a system of village-land ownership that reduced the free peasants to virtual economic slaves. This universal poverty laid the economic base for the revolution that came once in 1905 and again in 1917. In other European countries the Industrial Revolution took the pressure off landed poverty by absorbing surplus farmers into factories. But in Russia the Industrial Revolution did not arrive until very late in the 19th century and then advanced slowly.

Throughout the 19th century Russians were ruled by Tsars, the most absolute rulers on the continent. It was not until after the Revolution of 1905 that the Tsars granted the people a legislature. Tsarist rule produced the most corrupt bureaucracy

on the continent, corruption that took its toll in burdensome taxes, wars, and bitter persecution of minorities. For, in an attempt to secure some degree of national unity, the Tsars fostered the spirit of Pan-Slavism, the union of all Russians (and no Russians) who spoke a Slavic language. Those who were non-slavs were forcibly Russianized and made to adopt the Russian language and the Greek Orthodox faith. Nationalist opposition to these policies resulted in brutal pogroms conducted by vicious Cossacks against helpless men, women and children.

Repression bred opposition and throughout the nineteenth century Russian intellectuals experimented with forms of opposing the Tsar's absolutism—ranging from advocacy of terrorism to advocacy of constitutional monarchy. A small, very determined minority, were Marxists who planned revolution against Tsarism.

War came easily to Tsarist Russia for the geographical fact in Russia's life was that she was landlocked. Her northern Baltic ports were frozen half a year and she was kept from entering the warm Mediterranean by the Turkish Empire which controlled the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. became Russia's driving ambition to destroy Turkey and extend her dominion over these gateways to the Mediterranean. Since Turkey included within her empire many Slavic peoples in the Balkans Russia could pose as protectors of the Slavs, Greek Orthodox religionists and provoke Turkey into war. The Turks gave the Russians every excuse to intervene as their treatment of their Christian subjects was bestially brutal.

Therefore, when the Greeks revolted against the Turks, the Russians, in spite of their allegiance to the Meternich System, aided the Greeks. This brought England, too, to the aid of the Greeks. England was determined that Russia would not capitalize her aid into seizure of the Dardanelles. England's maneuver succeeded. The Russians tried again in 1853 to destroy Turkish power in the Balkans. This time England came to Turkey's aid and the Crimean War resulted.

For reasons of self-interest France and Prussia joined with England. Russia was defeated and lost control of Rumania, the Black Sea and the Danube. After particularly brutal slaughter of her Christian subjects, Turkey was again attacked by Russia in 1877. This time the other Christian nations were unable to come to Turkey's support and the Russians were permitted to defeat the Turks. In the Treaty of San Stefano following this defeat the Russians virtually forced the Turks out of Europe.

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Now England intervened, by threatening war, she forced Russia to set aside the Treaty of San Stefano and to meet at a Congress of Berlin (1878) for a revision. At this meeting, Bismarck played the part of "honest broker", the other powers had to consent to the destruction of the Turkish Empire in Europe. Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania were granted their independence. Austria received Bosnia and Herzegovina (in modern Yugoslavia). Bulgaria was divided into autonomous and dependent parts. England took Cyprus. But nationalism would not down, and in 1885 most of Bulgaria became an autonomous state. Once more, Russian hopes for an outlet to the Mediterranean were thwarted. In 1912 Russia unleashed a number of Balkan Wars out of which came the creation of Albania. Thwarted again, Russia made another plunge in what was to become World War I. After 1880 Russia's great opponent to her expansionist efforts was Austria-Hungary.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

In the case of Germany and Italy, nationalism had proved to be a unifying force, in that of the Turkish Empire and Austria-Hungary it was disruptive. Next to Russia, Austria-Hungary contained the largest amalgam of nationalities in Europe. Austria proper was inhabited by Germans, Hungary by Magyars. In the dominions controlled by these two ruling groups were Italians, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Serbs, Croats, Yugoslavs, Rumanians, etc. Each of these submerged nationalities had its own tongue, story, customs, traditions, religion—all the factors along for unity. In the first half of the century Austria ruled the empire through the oppressive policies of Prince Metternich. In 1848 came the Revolution which swept Metternich from office and momentarily threatened to fracture the entire empire. When this was followed in 1859 by defeat in the war with France and Piedmont, the ruler, Francis Joseph (who came to power in 1848 and reigned thereafter until 1916) granted the people an imperial constitution, one that the Hungarians refused to accept. With the disastrous defeat by France in 1866, Austria made an agreement with the Hungarians for a joint rule in the empire. Thereafter Austria and Hungary pursued different policies in keeping the submerged nationalities under control. Austria permitted a considerable degree of local autonomy and freedom to pursue racial and religious differences. Hungary carried

on a policy of "magyarization," a policy designed to suppress free expressions of differences. The breakup of the Turkish empire and the policy of Russian Pan-Slavism placed considerable pressure on the Austro-Hungarian state.

Encouraged by Russia all Slavs now strove for national independence. Freed Slavic nations like Serbia began to make efforts to unite with Serbs in the Austro-Hungarian empire to form an enlarged state with a water outlet on the Adriatic Sea. To prevent Serbian expansion to the sea Austria-Hungary seized Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908 and aided in the creation of Albania in 1912. Serbian-Austro-Hungarian complications were two years later to spark off the first World War. The European state-system came to completion at the end of World War I. From the Austro-Hungarian empire emerged the states of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia in full, and Rumania, Poland and Italy in part.

THE LESSER STATES

Spanish decline continued through the 19th century. The United States of America delivered the final blow to Spain's overseas strength by defeating her in the Spanish-American War of 1898 and stripping her of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines.

For a short while, liberalism succeeded in curbing the Spanish monarchy. Under a liberal constitution Spain nonetheless became a pawn in the power politics of a small group of military and political dictators. In these circumstances, radical movements grew inside Spain and toward the end of the century brought about universal male suffrage. High illiteracy, however, negated these efforts at democratization.

Portuguese history was an echo of Spanish, the monarchy continued in that land until overthrown in 1910, when Portugal became a republic. Belgium separated from Holland in the Revolution of 1830. Thereafter both states prospered and extended democratic privileges to the people gradually.

Most democratic of these lesser States was Switzerland. In 1874 this nation was the first to adopt the practice of the referendum, a means by which the people could pass on legislation. This was followed in 1891 by the initiative, a means by which the people could introduce legislation by petition. Denmark did not become fully democratic until King Christian IX's power was curbed in 1901 by a law making the upper house of the legislature elective and another extending the term of the

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at Yalta and Potsdam. It was generally that Germany was to be demilitarized, denazified and democratized and to this fourfold aim Germany was to be divided among the four victors into cooperating zones until such a time that she could be released into democratic freedom. Today Germany is remilitarized, is denazified and democratized, it is divided into two worlds—a democratic West Germany and a communist East Germany—and it remains a vexing problem with no clear solution even in sight. How did the situation come about?

The American, French and British reestablished three separate zones the democratic system that characterized Germany under the Weimar Republic. But the Russians, in their zone, confiscated all private property and nationalized all industry. After a pretense at a coalition government, the Russians permitted the Communist Party to become the sole leader of East Germany and a cold war was created. At the same time the Russians refused to contribute anything from their zone for the maintenance of all of Germany. The result was that the drain of supporting West Germany fell heavily upon the allies.

To ease the burden the three powers eventually relaxed their zones and relaxed the severe standards set at Potsdam with respect to German production.

At the outbreak of the cold war, it became clear to the democracies that the Potsdam decisions were completely unrealistic. As a result West Germany was permitted to construct an independent republic, to rebuild her army and general staff to resume production of military goods and to enter NATO and the Schuman Plan.

Crisis in the Middle East. Vital for its oil and other natural resources, commanding the passages from Europe and Africa to Asia, containing millions of impoverished people struggling for better standards of living the Middle East is a central point of international tensions.

Crisis in the Middle East today of the newly created state of Israel, fulfillment of the dreams of Zionist pioneers at the end of the 19th century on. Hitler's persecution of the Jews motivated the US and USSR to launch through the UN a divided plan for Palestine, part of which was to be given to the Jews, as a national state. Into this small area poured hundreds of thousands of Jews from every part of the world and the land has been completely reconstructed.

But Arab hatred for this project has been un-

ceasing since it was launched in 1948. Defeated in a war to destroy Israel, the Arabs have kept up ceaseless border agitation and the Israelis have answered in kind. Only the active intervention of the UN through such brilliant negotiators as Count Bernadotte, Ralph Bunche, General Burns and Dag Hammarskjöld has kept war from flaring on that front.

At the same time war threatened on the Egyptian front as well. When Premier Nasser of Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal, England and France resorted to the use of force to re-secure the Canal. Here, too, is a critical area.

Crisis Elsewhere Korea remains divided between a communist and a republican form of government, thus duplicating the German problem. Neither government rests satisfied with the solution. Communist China has not abandoned the hope of conquering Formosa. Japan's revival was guaranteed when the United States undertook to rehabilitate her industry, her government and her armed forces as a counterpoise to the domination of the Pacific by the Chinese Communists.

Each year India adds to her prestige as the leader of all the Asiatic and African "underdog" nations. But she herself stands at the edge of a military conflagration. In granting the sub-continent independence, England permitted it to be divided between India proper and Pakistan, the basis of the division was religious, for the Pakistanis were Mohammedan and the Indians Hindu. Between these areas lay the fabled land of Kashmir. Hindu in form and Mohammedan in content. Rapid intervention by the UN halted a momentary flare up of war in this area.

South Africa, chief remaining stronghold of Hitler's racial superiority dogmas, has legislated Negro inferiority for the Union of South Africa, a move which may set aflame dangerous feeling throughout Africa.

These then are a few of the areas which are dormant but which may become the provocation for another and worse holocaust. Wise and firm statesmanship however, can win out, for the worst of the crises lies in the exterminating power of the atomic weapons that have been accumulated since 1948. Without an alternative to peace, the world may attain it.

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and the United Kingdom) signed a treaty which provided that for twenty years the signatories would keep the peace among themselves; would give each other military and economic aid; and (Article 5) would consider "an armed attack against one or more of them . . . an attack against all of them." If an attack occurred each would avail himself, under Article 51 of the UN Charter, of the right of the individual and collective self-defense and would take such action as it deemed necessary. When Greece, Turkey and West Germany later joined NATO, the "North Atlantic" defense area embraced more than 400,000,000 people.

With the fall to the Communists of Indo-China, eight governments were stirred to action and in the Manila Pact adopted a defense alliance for Southeast Asia. While Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand joined with the United States, England and France in this agreement, India, Burma and Indonesia did not . . . thereby making SEATO considerably weaker than NATO. Weaker still was METO formed by England as the last in the chain of collective security pacts extending from the North Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans. At Baghdad in 1955 England, Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan drew up a mutual defense agreement. The bitter hostility of Egypt and her cohorts in the Arab League to this treaty made its effects small indeed.

Results. A show of determined strength by the democracies gave Communist leaders pause. When Stalin died the Soviet Union invited the democracies to consider ways and means of reducing the tension created by the Cold War. A series of top-level meetings at Geneva produced some lessening of tension.

Freedom and the Iron Curtain. As early as 1948 Tito, Communist leader of Yugoslavia, quarreled with Stalin on the issue of Yugoslavia's right to national self-determination and withdrew from the satellite orbit. He received every form of encouragement from the United States even though he continued his variety of communism in Yugoslavia.

When Stalin died, Khrushchev revealed that this revered leader had in fact been a brutal butcher, an inept military commander, a complete dictator. The new "collective-leadership" in Russia was therefore in favor of a revision of Stalin's policy in the direction of greater freedom of national self-determination among the satellites. Temporarily, the name back into favor as did many of the

purged leaders in Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria and elsewhere. A new spirit of freedom seemed to be making its appearance in the satellites.

THE WORLD TODAY

Each year following the Second World War has produced its particular crisis; each crisis has left its mark. What are the potential crisis areas as we can observe them today?

The Crisis in Colonialism. Nationalism and democracy, which began their triumphant careers with the French Revolution, have spread in our day to the colonial areas of the world. Considerable success has accompanied the efforts of the world's "backward areas" to shake off the shackles of imperialistic controls.

Chief "loser" in this movement among colonial peoples for independence has been Great Britain. Her once great empire is a shadow of its former self. The dominions are free; India is independent and a cooperating member of the Commonwealth. Palestine is lost; Burma is free; Egypt is not only free but through its nationalization of the Suez Canal is England's greatest threat today; England's colonies and protectorates in Africa are moving—some violently, some peacefully—steadily in the direction of increased local autonomy; even the West Indies are stirring with calls for separation. English spheres of influence in Iran and Iraq have shrunk through such actions as efforts to nationalize oil properties and dismissal of British military advisers; Pakistan was born free.

Conscious of these losses, France has fought bitterly to retain her hold upon Indo-China, Algeria, Tunisia and north-central Africa. Equally determined to be free are the natives of these areas who have steadfastly refused all French compromise offers of residence within the French Empire on local autonomy basis. This crisis still remains to be resolved.

More rational was the disposal of the Italian African empire. Libya has already been set free under the auspices of the United Nations. Eritrea and Somaliland will be set free on dates agreed upon by both Italy and the United Nations.

At the Bandung Conference held in April 1955 a bloc of Afro-Asiatic nations met to consider the common problems, but especially that of colonialism in their lands. The conference served as a focus for anti-colonial sentiment.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

IDEAS AND THE ARTS IN THE MODERN WORLD

Movements in culture are often replaced; but they rarely die. The result is that the present is a development out of the past. Here, we shall trace briefly the origin of some of the most important of these current movements.

THE GROWTH OF MODERN SCIENCE

The Doctrine of Evolution. Newton's mechanical universe continued to dominate the 19th century. But there was increasing dissatisfaction with the idea that the world was a perfect machine. As far back as Heraclitus, Empedocles and Anaxagoras, and especially in Lucretius's *On the Nature of Things*, the idea had been considered that the present was the product of a long, *evolving* past, that the universe, life, man himself, his culture and society were once *simpler* forms which over the years had grown more complex. That living species had not been specially created but had evolved from a common parent was implied in CAMERARIUS's discovery of plant sexuality, in LINNEUS's scheme of plant classification and in the studies on plant differentiation and the environment made by BUFFON. Thinkers had already begun to speculate on the reasons for changing species. Erasmus had proposed a concept of adaptation to environment, Malthus, the struggle for existence. SIR CHARLES LYELL, in his monumental and decisive study, *The Principles of Geology*, had demonstrated that even earth itself had evolved according to fixed principles. Jean Lamarck offered the first synthesis of doctrines of evolution by hypothesizing that the inheritance and transmission of acquired characteristics was the cause for changing species. The preparation for the theories of CHARLES DARWIN (1809-1882) had been a long one.

Darwin's theory of evolution was a basic force in the shaping of the modern mind. His *Origin of*

Species (1859) cast considerable doubt on the philosophical assumptions of the Newtonian universe. In place of Newton's fixed and permanent categories, Darwin offered those of change, a chance, and the evolution of organisms. This placed emphasis on impermanence and growth—dynamic instead of static factors. By the most diligent gathering of data, Darwin marshalled the evidence to demonstrate that existing plants and animals and man himself—evolved from more rudimentary forms, that in the struggle for existence the environment imposes on living species nature select those species most fit or adapted to survive.

Out of these fundamental doctrines was born the modern science of biology, since Darwin, has advanced greatly as a result of the work of Weismann who established the continuity of the germ plasm, DeVries who formulated the hypothesis of mutations to explain change in species, Mendel who founded the science of heredity, and Morgan who revealed the structure of the genes.

Evolutionary thought spread through all sciences. Astronomers changed radically their perspectives in calculating the ages of the universe. They forced men to think in terms of billion years of earth's existence instead of thousand. Historians were left with vast eras of unrecorded history and fell back upon the archaeologists' data (as well as the geologists, geographers, paleontologists, etc.). What was left for then recorded history was a pinpoint on the circular time.

Freudianism. SIGMUND FREUD, the great Viennese psychiatrist, took as his field of exploration the depths of the human mind. From his work on psychoneurotics Freud concluded that human nature is composed of three interacting parts: the id or unconscious source of energy that

ness instinctively and drives man to fulfill his basic needs (chiefly sexual), an ego or conscious self which modifies or suppresses the socially unacceptable id-drives, and a super ego or conscience which controls and inhibits id-drives by "reminding" the ego of parental and social authority and moral ideals.

Conflict between id and super-ego demands—Freud believed—can create neurotic behavior and, when the ego breaks down entirely, psychotic behavior. To prevent collapse the ego constructs numerous "defensive mechanisms" which protect the individual. Thus people are sometimes unaware of the reasons for their behavior since they may be responding to the need to repress their destructive tendencies. In this sense man's behavior is irrational. Rational behavior can result only from dealing on the surface the realities of the id's demands and placing them under the control of a strengthened ego, in other words, making man's irrational behavior rational. This theory, too, had wide influence.

It provided a theory which could account for numerous acts which had been little understood—e.g., dreams, unconscious "slips of the tongue" and the like. It revolutionized the science of psychology, psychiatry. It influenced the field of comparative religion and anthropology with psychoanalysis of the various types of totems, taboos and myths and of religious belief and custom. It gave to historians a new tool for analyzing the behavior of man. Novelists and painters were tremendously affected by Freud's concept of the unconscious and its sexual components.

The Universe of Albert Einstein. ALBERT EINSTEIN symbolizes the revolution which has occurred in man's view of the physical universe. A century of development in mathematics, physics and chemistry was required as a preparation for Einstein's epochal discoveries in the fields of astrophysics and microphysics. In the sphere of astrophysics scientists had become increasingly aware of the inadequacies of many of Newton's formulations particularly with respect to phenomena that related to the nature of electricity and light. Newton's laws with respect to motion in absolute space and time, following the axioms of Euclidean geometry, did not adequately account for the behavior of light in space.

Einstein's theory of relativity was designed to explain the motion of light in space by incorporating what had been discovered about the nature of light, radioactivity and electricity in the century

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...relativity in the universe is relative to the position of the observer or that there are no absolute categories in space, only the speed of light is constant. The full meaning and implications of Einstein's magnificent work can be understood only by specialists, but even laymen knew that Einstein had fundamentally altered our views of the universe, and that after him the world would never again be the same.

During the 19th century, moreover, chemists had revised the atomic theory to explain the behavior and composition of organic and inorganic matter. Basic chemical elements were then located and arranged in a periodic table. Discovery of radiation led physicists to postulate that the fundamental atom itself was made up of smaller particles of positive and negative protons and electrons.

These tiny electrical particles were now produced by MAX PLANCK in his "quantum theory." EINSTEIN built up through scientific speculation a model of the microphysical universe that closely resembled that of the solar system. Efforts were increased to achieve power over this infinitesimal system by splitting atoms (particularly uranium) by bombarding them with neutrons. This splitting process was called fission and in the process energy was given off according to Einstein's basic formula $E = MC^2$. From this it was not a long step to the release of a controlled chain reaction with a burst of tremendous atomic power as a result. By reversing the process of fission to secure a fusion of particles the amount of energy released was very much increased, the possibilities of an explosive force similarly multiplied. Thus did man invent a means for his own complete destruction.

Louis Pasteur. Power to destroy himself came to man as he stood on the threshold of winning great victories in the field of medicine symbolized in the life and work of LOUIS PASTEUR who established the germ theory of disease.

With the location of the sources of disease, experimenters began to produce vaccines and synthetic organic compounds with which to battle disease or to supply deficiencies in diseased persons. Gradually dread epidemic diseases like diphtheria, smallpox, malaria, tuberculosis, poliomyelitis, etc. have been eliminated or brought under control. After centuries of failure, psychiatrists, too, stand on the threshold of important discoveries for the control of psychosis. It is the advance in medical control of psychosis that has pointed up most sharply for modern

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Movements in culture are often replaced, but they rarely die. The result is that the present is a development out of the past. Here, we shall trace briefly the origin of some of the most important of these current movements.

THE GROWTH OF MODERN SCIENCE

The Doctrine of Evolution. Newton's mechanical universe continued to dominate the 19th century. But there was increasing dissatisfaction with the idea that the world was a perfect machine. As far back as Heraclitus, Empedocles and Anaxagoras, and especially in Lucretius's *On the Nature of Things*, the idea had been considered that the present was the product of a long evolving past, that the universe, life, man himself, his culture and society were once simpler forms which over the years had grown more complex. That living species had not been specially created but had evolved from a common parent was implied in CAMERARIUS's discovery of plant sexuality, in LINNÆUS's scheme of plant classification and in the studies on plant differentiation and the environment made by BUFFON. Thinkers had already begun to speculate on the reasons for changing species. CRISPIANUS had proposed a concept of adaptation to environment, MALTHUS, the struggle for existence. SIR CHARLES LYELL, in his monumental and decisive study, *The Principles of Geology*, had demonstrated that even earth itself had evolved according to fixed principles. JEAN LAMARCK offered the first synthesis of doctrines of evolution by hypothesizing that the inheritance and transmission of acquired characteristics was the cause for changing species. The preparation for the theories of CHARLES DARWIN (1809-1882) had been a long one.

Darwin's theory of evolution was a basic force in the shaping of the modern mind. His *Origin of*

Species (1859) cast considerable doubt on the philosophical assumptions of the Newtonian universe. In place of Newton's fixed and permanent categories, Darwin offered those of change, and chance, and the evolution of organisms. This placed emphasis on impermanence and growth—dynamic instead of static factors. By the most diligent gathering of data, Darwin marshalled the evidence to demonstrate that existing plants and animals—and man himself—evolved from more rudimentary forms, that in the struggle for existence which environment imposes on living species nature selects those species most fit or adapted to survive.

Out of these fundamental doctrines was born the modern science of biology—a science which since Darwin, has advanced greatly as a result of the work of WEISMANN who established the continuity of the germ plasm, DE VRIES who formulated the hypothesis of mutations to explain the change in species, MENDEL who founded the laws of heredity, and MORGAN who revealed the structure of the genes.

Evolutionary thought spread through all the sciences. Astronomers changed radically their time perspectives in calculating the ages of the universe. They forced men to think in terms of billions of years of earth's existence instead of thousands. Historians were left with vast eras of unrecorded history and fell back upon the archaeologists for data (as well as the geologists, geographers, palaeontologists, etc.) What was left for them of recorded history was a pinpoint on the circle of time.

Freudianism. SIGMUND FREUD, the great Viennese psychiatrist, took as his field of exploration the depths of the human mind. From his work with psychoanalysis Freud concluded that human nature is composed of three interacting parts—the id or unconscious source of energy that oper-

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